

# **GOOROO RAM SINGH AND THE KUKA SIKHS**

**NAHAR SINGH, M.A.**

**NAMDHARI HISTORY RESEARCH SOCIETY**



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AND  
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**THE KUKA SIKHS**  
*(Rebels Against the British Power in India)*  
**BOOK III**  
**DOCUMENTS**  
*(APRIL 1872 TO JUNE 1880)*

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### *Satguru Partap Singh Ji Maharaj*

A patriot who devoted all his time, knowledge, experience, energy and resources for the liberation of his motherland from the slavery of the British Rule; like his predecessor Gooroos. He and his followers the Kukas gave unstinted and unconditional support to all the political parties, revolutionary groups and individuals who worked for the uprooting of the domination of the British over Bharat.



*Dedicated*  
*To*  
*The Sacred Memory of*  
*His Holiness Late Satguru*  
*Partap Singhji Maharaj*  
*as a humble token of affectionate*  
*reverence.*



## Compiler's Prefatory Note

The present volume *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs* containing official documents and extracts from contemporary Indian newspapers in English language covering the period April 1872 to June 1880, forms the third of the series "Rebels Against the British Power in India".

The Punjabies, the Sikhs, the Musalmans and the Hindus jointly, under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh created an independent sovereign state of the Punjab, known as the Lahore Sarkar or Lahore Darbar. The two generations of men from 1799 to 1839 toiled for such a glorious historic achievement by the Punjabies.

It was a multi-racial, multi-tribal and multi-lingual state, with Persian as official language for the court business. The Persian language also served as medium of correspondence with foreign friendly powers. The nobles, courtiers and officers of the kingdom spoke Persian, Pashto, Kashmiri, Dogri, Lehnda Punjabi, Balochi, Sindhi, Kanoji, Maithli, Gorkhali, Hindi, French, English and Italian. Maharaja himself spoke in colloquial Punjabi of the Central Majha. Men and officers, professing different religious faiths, adorned the court and served the blessed land of five rivers with devotional spirit of sacrifice.

The great Maharaja, the conqueror, unifier and the central figure, died in 1839, after a protracted illness. Intemperate, excessive drinking habits and a large Harem containing 44 wives of all ages, denominations and grades hastened to ruin his health. No sooner the last rites of the Maharaja were performed, than the court intrigues and lust for power divided the powerful magnates and pillars of the Darbar into opposite factions. The rivalries and jealousies of the influential nobles of the court worked havoc and the process of ruination of the integrity and sovereignty of the country started within a year of the death of the great Maharaja. Murders, treachery, lawlessness, and disobedience became the routine work in the court. The soldiers of the regiments stationed at Lahore, especially the Sikhs belonging to the Jat clans of Majha, refused to obey the orders of their

officers. They formed themselves into Panchayats and appointed their own Panchs to negotiate with the prospective claimants to the throne or to the Premiership of the Darbar. These panchayats of the soldiers became the decisive factors in the administration. They sided with the highest bidders. Increase of pay and promises of big rewards in the shape of golden Kanthe and Kare by power-seeking opportunist nobles of the court ruined the discipline, morale and spirit of team-work in the army of the Darbar stationed at Lahore. The treasury became empty and the Paymaster General or Bakhshi was murdered by the Majhail Bhayas, for he refused payment of stipulated rewards. The excesses, vagaries and lawlessness of these soldiers broke all limits. They decided among themselves the affairs of state and dictated their decisions to the ministers and to the Regent Mother Rani Jindan, whose son Maharaja Dalip Singh was put on the throne by the Sindhanwalia Chiefs after murdering Maharaja Sher Singh and Vizier Dhian Singh. Sindhanwalias were in turn murdered the next day by their enemies. In all these melo-dramatic events at Lahore, the army Panchs took leading part not from any patriotic sense of duty, but for the sole purpose of amassing wealth by helping those who paid the biggest amounts. It was very unfortunate, that at such a chaotic period of time, the administration was conducted by the mother of the Child King. She was at that time barely 22 years of age, an illiterate woman, whose son was placed on the throne by the Sindhanwalia Chiefs for their own selfish ends. She came from a very poor family and her father was a court buffoon to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. According to the custom of the time, she was presented to the Maharaja by her father in a hilarious mood. With such a poor background, the Rani was ill-equipped for the highest position she held by virtue of her being the mother of the Child King.

Unfortunately for the Punjab, she appointed her brother Jawahar Singh as the Vizier of this vast kingdom. Jawahar Singh was a dissolute sot, a drunkard, a libertine, who revelled in the company of lewd women. He despoiled and raped the wives of late Maharaja Sher Singh.

He got Kanwar Peshora Singh, the son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh murdered at Attack. Such was his record of crimes and sins. The army Panchs decided to punish him for his



misdeeds. He was murdered in cold-blood before his sister's eyes in the parade-ground. As a woman, true to her nature, she could not, under any circumstances, swallow such a gross crime committed against her parent's family. She swore vengeance on the murderers of her brother—the Panchs and the soldiers of the army. Her personal friends and co-sharers in crime, Vizier Lal Singh—a Brahmin Sikh convert from a Village in Pathohar in the Jhelum District and Commander-in-Chief Tej Singh—a Brahmin Sikh convert from Village Kheri in the Saharanpur District, agreed to her secret and nefarious designs of getting the Khalsa army, stationed at Lahore, taught a lesson.

A war between the armies of the East India Company and the Lahore division of the Lahore Darbar took place in December 1845. After a series of battles at Aliwal, Badowal, Mudki, Feroze Shahr and Sabraon, the Darbar Army was routed and defeated. In these battles, the following prominent Generals and officers of the Lahore Darbar laid their lives for the defence and honour of their motherland: General Makhe Khan, General Mewa Singh Majitha, Colonel Imam Shah, Heera Singh Topee, Dewan Ram Ditta, Mian Mungloo, Hukam Singh Malwai, Sardar Kishan Singh s/o Khushal Singh, Sardar Sham Singh Attariwala at Sabraon, Sardar Chuttur Singh Kalianwala, Sardar Ganda Singh Koonjahia and Sardar Gulab Singh Kaputta at Feroze Shahr. The treachery of Vizier Lal Singh and Commander-in-Chief Tej Singh with the connivance of an ambitious young widow, the Rani, bent on punishing and ruining the murderers of her dissolute brother, resulted in bringing the Punjab in the brazen claws of the British.

According to a treaty between the Lahore Darbar and the Company Sarkar, all the territory of the Darbar up to the River Beas was confiscated and annexed to the British possessions in India. By another treaty, the territories of Jammu and Kashmir were given to Raja Gulab Singh as a reward for his valuable services and help to the British cause during the late war. A British Resident was appointed to the court of Lahore to help the Council of Administration, set up for carrying on the administration of the truncated state. A British force was stationed at Lahore. Vizier Lal Singh soon reaped the fruit of his treachery. The then Kashmir Governor Sheikh Imam Din of Hoshiarpur had

resisted the possession of Kashmir by Raja Gulab Singh, which he was going to occupy in accordance with his treaty with the British authorities. The Sheikh, explaining his conduct, revealed, that Vizier Lal Singh had ordered him to act in the manner as he had acted. As a result of further investigations, Raja Lal Singh was removed from the Punjab and kept at Mathra in the British territory as a state prisoner.

By another treaty of December 1846 with the Lahore Darbar, it was stipulated, that the British forces would stay in the Punjab territory up to 1856, or the year, when Maharaja Dalip Singh became 18 years of age and took up the administration of his kingdom.

But the fates had decided otherwise. The British had entered the Punjab as friends, allies and guardians in the interest of the minor Maharaja Dalip Singh. With the passage of time, the advocates of forward expansionist imperialist policy in India and England, deemed it advisable to own and possess the vast territories of the Lahore Darbar, extending beyond Peshawar and river Sind. The Russian Czars, since the days of Queen Catherine, were gradually advancing their conquests and sphere of influence in Central Asia and it was feared, that they might extend their political influence and conquests up to Peshawar and the Punjab. In order to meet Russia's advance through Central Asia, the British statesmen in England thought it expedient to hold Punjab in their palms. The work in this direction was taken up seriously from its inner base at Lahore and with extremities at Hazara, Abbotabad and Peshawar.

The aggressive interference in the internal affairs of the kingdom by the British Resident, and the banishment of Queen mother Rani Jindan to the territory of the Company Sarkar at Benarse by the orders of the British Resident precipitated the crisis.

From March 1846 to April 1848, the administration of Mooltan province of the Lahore kingdom had been carried out successfully by Dewan Mool Raj. The astute British Resident wanted to bring the Dewan of this strategically situated outlying province within the orbit of his personal influence. Entrenched at Lahore, the nerve-centre of the kingdom, the Resident pulled

the strings deftly and dexterously. It was so arranged and manipulated, that the Governorship of Mooltan should no more continue in the person of Mool Raj. In the province of outlying Hazara the administration of Governor Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala was being constantly criticised and obstructed by a young British Sub-altern, Mr. Abbots, who was posted there by the orders of the British Resident. The second Punjab War (1848-49) started at Mooltan, when the two young British officers had taken up the charge of the fort under the orders from the Darbar. The causes, events, and narratives of this war form a bundle of errors, mistakes, wrong orders, confused judgments and misuse of authority. In this war, it goes to the credit of the common soldiers, that they put up a stout resistance to the British forces, under the leadership of Dewan Mool Raj, Sardar Narain Singh, one of his bravest commanders, Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, Colonel Mehtab Singh Bhullar Moraria, Sardar Surat Singh Majithia, Sardar Lal Singh Moraria, Bhai Maharaj Singh and Colonel Rachhpal Singh Poorbia and scores of others. The British diplomacy rather than arms triumphed. The 91 Chief Sardars and their soldiers consisting of Musalmans, Hindus and Sikhs laid their arms at Rawalpindi with the honourable exception of the two, Bhai Maharaj Singh and Colonel Rachhpal Singh Poorbia. That was the end of the armed resistance of the Punjabies as a free people against the British.

The Punjab was declared annexed to the British possessions in India in March 1849. The infant Maharaja was deposed. Soon after, he and his nephew Shahzada Sheodev Singh and Shahzada's mother Rani Dukhnoo were taken to Bareilly in the British territory and were kept there as state prisoners. Later on the infant Maharaja was taken to England. He died there.

After the annexation, the properties, Jagirs and personal pensions of about 100 rebel Sardars were reduced to nominal living expenses. Influential among them were confined in their village boundaries. Dewan Mool Raj was tried and banished from the Punjab. His vast properties were confiscated.

In September, October 1849, it was decided by the British authorities, that the presence of Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala,

his son Raja Sher Singh and other 10 Sardars in the Punjab was dangerous to the British Power. All of them were arrested and taken first to Allahabad fort and then to other forts and places, and were kept there as state prisoners.

Bhai Maharaj Singh made a last bid to raise a general rebellion in the Punjab in December 1849. He was betrayed by two of his followers who were in the pay of the British Officers and who acted as secret agents. He was arrested on 28th December 1849 at Village Adampur Doaba in the Jullundur District, and deported to Singapore as a state prisoner. Confined in the Central Jail there, he died after a protracted illness in 1856. His companion Khuruck Singh was then removed to Penang.

A band of efficient and shrewd civil officers was posted in the Punjab. A Board of Administration was constituted to govern the new territory. The Board continued up to 1853. From 1853 to 1859, it was put under the charge of a Chief Commissioner. In the year 1859, new territories were added to it and this bigger Punjab extending from Peshawar to Delhi and Gurgaon was put under the charge of a Lieutenant Governor.

Under six years of British rule, the Punjabies of all sections of population and creeds lay prostrate before their new masters. Their spirit of independence and resistance was stultified. Their souls had become half-dead. The British masters drove them like cattle. In 1852, one of the regiments of the Punjabies was taken to Burma to fight against the Burmese people. The British ruled the Punjab with an iron fist concealed in a velvet glove. In 1853, one of the Gakhkhar Chiefs of the Jhelum District declared a war against the British. He was soon arrested and hanged. But such was a rare and solitary example. The Punjabies basked in the sunshine of favours, bestowed upon them by their new masters. They, as a people, did not bestir themselves for regaining their political freedom—the bed-rock of national self-respect, national pride and national honour. Often twinkling lights came from independent Pathan tribal areas. The inhabitants of rugged, dry, rainless, unkind, barren mountain terrain refused to submit themselves to the political dominance of the British. The Mujahdin followers of late Khalifa Syed Ahmad of Bareilly (death 1831) under their succes-

sive Khalifas and leaders declared Jihad or holy war against the Farangi Rule in India from their Headquarters at Patna in Bihar. Money and Mujahids were constantly sent to Sittana and Malka to fight against the British Rulers of India. India under the non-Muslim rulers was a Dar-Al-Harab and thus it was the duty of every pious Muslim to have it liberated from them and establish a Muslim Raj in India. From their Headquarters in the Tribal area at Sittana, and Malka they were sending Martyr-soldiers or Ghazies into the British territory at opportune times to continue Jihad or holy war. In the year 1857, a big force under Sir Henry Cotton destroyed their headquarters. In 1863, a bigger force was sent against them, known in the military history as Umbala Campaign.

In the year 1863, a sensational conspiracy case under Sections 119, 120, 121 of the Indian Penal Code was instituted at Ambala, against Mohammad Shafi of Ambala, one of the biggest beef suppliers to the British regiments in Northern India and his ten associates for helping their co-religionists at Sittana and Malka in the tribal area, with men, money and weapons. As a corollary to this case, another case was instituted at Patna, in which the members of a very influential and wealthy Musalman family were involved in organising an India-wide conspiracy against the British rule. The cases were known as the Wahabi conspiracy cases.

The pacification and mental subjugation of the Punjabies progressed slowly but firmly. The settlement of land, fixation of land revenue, preparation of records of rights in the land, investigation into, and continuance and confirmation of Jagirs, muafies of religious nature, the establishment of new types of courts, the opening of railway line, post offices, schools, constructing of pacca roads and the cutting of a new Bari Doab Canal through the Majha tract, more facilities for trading classes and money lending communities—all tended to make the Punjabies ease-loving, comfort-seeking and dependent on official favours or Sahib-Di-Khushi. A new order of nobility and middle class was springing up. The old social structure of population was cracking and breaking. The Bhaichara basis of village life and the Panchayat system was being systematically wiped out. For redressing the wrong, Justice must be sought through the government courts established for that purpose. The government

patronage and monetary assistance for the opening of missionary schools and missionary centres brought an enthusiastic band of Christian missionaries to the Punjab. The missionaries openly denounced the religious faiths of the Indian people vehemently. Mutton and beef were required for the British officers and soldiers as well. Indifferent to the feelings and sentiments and to the abhorrence of the general populace, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs alike, licences for selling beef and mutton were issued under the pretext of freedom for practising and following one's religion and religious practices. Brothels and prostitutes' bazars were opened in all cantonment areas of the Punjab for the sexual satisfaction of the British soldiers especially. The Punjabies were gradually reconciling themselves to the new measures adopted by the British officers in order to strengthen their hold on this most important province of India.

A nauseating atmosphere of helplessness, despondency and frustration prevailed among the larger section of population and especially among the Sikhs. According to a despatch of Lord Dalhousie, the political existence of the Sikhs, as a nation, had been put to an end after the annexation. At such a dark hour Gooroo Ram Singh appeared in the religio-political field. His native village in the Cis-Sutlej territory was included in the possessions of the Lahore Darbar. He was an old soldier of the artillery wing of the Khalsa Army. His old regiment was named as Bhagtan-Di-Paltan or the regiment of saintly Sikhs or devoted ones. Most of the associates and followers of late Bhai Maharaj Singh knew him personally. He had in him fire of faith. He had enthusiasm, determination and a burning desire to revive the by-gone glory of Khalsa Panth. He had steel in his soul. He wanted to restore, what the Khalsa as a Panth had lost on account of the mistakes, follies, lust and ambitions of the selfish political leaders. After very carefully surveying, weighing, judging and analysing the past events and causes, he started a religio-socio political movement known as the Namdhari Movement in April 1857.

Purification of one's soul and mind from evil thoughts and evil actions by faithfully following and adhering to the tenets of



the Khalsa faith as preached by Gooroo Gobind Singh, formed the basic principles of the new order. Evil social customs and practices relating to birth, marriage and death were to be abandoned. Economic independence of the family and individual was to be maintained by hard labour and industry. Idleness was to be shunned. Work was to be regarded as part of worship. Use of liquor and intoxicants and meat was prohibited.

Clean living, clean earnings, clean dealings, clean thoughts, clean action and truthful living were the major part of his teachings. He appealed to the poorer cultivating peasants, working classes and daily wage-earners. He tried to raise the down-trodden, backward and neglected sections of society to their proper place. He taught that women were an equally important part of human society as men. And in order to make a balanced progress, it was essential, that they should be given equal rights in all spheres of life. The dress habits of men and women were changed to a simpler pattern without any ornaments and unnecessary clothings. In his religious meetings and gatherings, women could also take their seats, take part freely and could sing or recite hymns from the sacred scripture. He prohibited child marriage and the system of buying brides and barter marriages *i.e.*, one taking a bride from a family in which his own sister or female relative is married. He encouraged inter-caste marriages. Remarriage of widows was emphatically preached and practised. He introduced the simplest marriage ceremony known as Anand Karaj and also the system of mass marriages at a religious meeting. No expenses were to be incurred on marriages no show, no ostentation of wealth or outward display of one's social position.

According to him, the existence, progress and growth of an individual was possible only in a healthy society, in which men and women are free from evil ways of life. A male or a female Namdhari must lead a married life sharing the responsibilities of keeping and running a home. A widower or widow must marry a widow or a widower if the age permits and circumstances allow. He laid stress on manly exercises and body-building. Every Namdhari had to carry at least a good wooden club or a small hatchet with a handle. Daily bath, good nourishing food, clean clothes, regular worship, punctuality, hard work and a smiling face was the description of his followers, known as Namdharis or Kukas. The standard and practices were kept up with meticulous care.

The political aim of the movement was the restoration of the Khalsa Raj or an independent Sovereign State of the Punjab of the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. His political programme was simple, practicable and intelligible to a common man. It was "Boycott of everything that the British had introduced, and the use of Swadeshi". He preached the upkeep of age-long traditions of Bhaiyachari and Panchayat system and observance of social justice based on popular will.

Gooroo Ram Singh was gifted by nature with a rare genius for making plans and directing their execution to completion. He possessed talents to organize men for a cause. His dynamic personality and sincere teachings coupled with his practical life energised his adherents, audience and onlookers. He called the Britishers by the name of Malechhas or evil souls. He taught that the principal duty of every Indian was the expulsion of the Malechhas from the holy land of Bharat, by employing all means including armed resistance and foreign alliances.

Within five years, the movement gained a strong foot-hold in the Punjab. It attracted the attention of the British authorities and they conveyed their findings, feelings, and fears regarding this new religio-political movement to the authorities at Calcutta and London. In June 1863, Gooroo Ram Singh was interned in his Headquarters at Bhaini in the Ludhiana District under semi-imprisonment conditions. He was not allowed to go out of the village on preaching tours. The movements of the Gooroo and his influential followers were closely watched by the authorities. Consequently deeper analytical study of the movement by competent and expert British officials revealed that the aim of Gooroo Ram Singh was the restoration of Khalsa Raj. He was designated as a rebel against the British rule and his followers were termed as enemies of the state.

The administration appointed spies and police agents disguised as Kuka devotees at the Headquarters of the movement. These secret agents sometimes pretended to show more devotion and zeal than the genuine followers. The activities of Gooroo Ram Singh and his trusted Subas, Naib Subas, Mahants,



Dharamsalas, offerings collectors, Harkaras, and message carriers were watched with avid care and caution and forwarded to the authorities for the preparation of annual reports. These annual reports were sent to Calcutta and London for the determination of policy towards the head of the movement and his followers. In all such reports, the Kukas were mentioned as the worst enemies of the British rule. In one of the reports, it was suggested, that Gooro Ram Singh be deported to some unknown place outside India. On the basis of such reports, the more cautious and vigilant British officers were looking forward to some opportune moment when they could crush the movement with ruthless severity in the same manner as they had done during 1857-1858 days, by blowing the alleged rebels and mutineers with the cannons.

Such an opportunity came and incidently both the British officers who perpetrated and repeated the ghastly massacre of blowing the Kukas with guns were the old veterans of 1857-58, who had personally practised this kind of killing in those days.

On the 17th and 18th January 1872, the Kuka prisoners numbering 67 were put to death by blowing away with guns at Malerkotla by the British officers—Mr. Cowan the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana and Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner Ambala. The nine guns and the military of about 750 strong men belonged to the adjoining Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind.

Gooroo Ram Singh and his 11 Subahs or Lieutenants were arrested and made state prisoners under Bengal Regulation III of 1818. The Headquarters at Bhaini were considered to be a breeding place of rebellion. A police post consisting of seven policemen, chiefly mohammedans, was posted at the main gate of the residence of the successive Gooroos, Gooroo Hari Singhji Maharaj and Gooroo Partap Singhji Maharaj from 1872 to 1921. No more than five Kukas could enter the boundary limits of Village Bhaini and pay their respects to their religious preceptors. The religious meetings and social gatherings of the Kukas were banned throughout the Punjab and the Punjab States. Social gatherings regarding births, marriages and deaths could only take place with the previous permission of the district authorities. Every Kuka while visiting his relatives and friends in the near-by

village had to inform the police authorities of the circle in which his village was situated, and after reaching the village of his destination had to present himself personally before the officer incharge of the police post of the village concerned. The Kukas as well as their Gooroos or preceptors, their womenfolks and children underwent all these sufferings, hardships, indignities, and humiliations for two generations willingly and smilingly. Braver and more daring among them played the game of hide and seek with the police authorities and secret agents. In one such game of hide and seek, challenges and counter-challenges to duel, Kuka Arbangi by name killed a mohammedan constable near Bhaini, in a lathi-combat. Such duels occurred many a time and at many a place during the period 1872 to 1921. The standing orders of the successive Gooroos for such occasions and occurrences were specific. "Never to yield to undue harassment, threats and violence and pay such hooligans, rogues and bullies in the same coins." The Kukas remained irreconcilable foes of the British up till 1947. Theirs is the only religio-political party in India, the leaders and members of which refused to negotiate terms of appeasement or conciliation with the British authorities on any basis. Their primary political aim was the expulsion of the Malechhas from the holy land of Bharat.

In their search for some effective political programme of action for the Indian masses, the leaders of the Indian National Congress, especially Late Rashtriapati Rajendra Prasadji, carefully studied the political ideals, ideas and practices of the Kuka Community as set by Gooroo Ram Singh in 1857. He was much impressed by their simple and clear-cut programme. He brought this to the notice of Gandhiji, at that time the guiding pilot of the party. Gandhiji adopted the boycott and the use of Swadeshi or Khadi from the Kuka line of action. Non-violence and Satyagrah were of course added under the changed circumstances and times.

In the political calendar of the Punjab, the Kukas and the Mujahdins misnamed as Wahabies, are the path finders of political freedom. The leaders and workers of 1905-1909, agrarian agitation under the able guidance of Sardar Ajit Singh, and others are considered as road-makers. The Punjabi Ghadrates

coming from U.S.A., Canada, Phillipines, Singapore, Shanghai, Malaya, Thailand, Burma and other foreign countries (from 1914 to 1918) with the object of raising a rebellion in India acted as suicide squads of volunteers and pioneers. Their selfless sacrifices, their arrests, trials and executions, infused a new spirit in the masses of the Punjab. The inspiring songs of late Lala Lal Chand Falak and the poems of Ghadr-Di-Gunj by Giani Bhagwan Singh, composed during this period, can still move masses to action.

The massacre of unarmed people, gathered in a meeting in the Jallianwala Bagh by General Dyer in 1919, engendered bitter feelings of hatred and distrust in the minds of the Punjabies against the British rule.

The Gurudwara Reform Movement known as Akali Movement and the Khilafat Movement in the Punjab awakened the rural masses. The Akali Movement continued from 1920 to 1925. Within the boundary wall of the sacred Gurudwara Nankana Sahib, about 250 Sikhs were hacked to death by Mahant Narain Dass and his hired assassins and killers. The number of arrests of the Sikhs at Bhai Phero, and Guruka Bagh Gurudwaras reached thousands. The Nabha Morcha was the hardest trial to which the Sikh community had been ever put to.

The subsequent anti-British rule movements in the Punjab awakened the Punjabies from their deep slumber. They organized secret societies and conspiracies. The Babar Akali Movement of terrorist Sikhs in the Jullundur Doab, alarmed the British authorities greatly. Bhagat Singh and his associates in their programme of action included armed resistance and terrorism, against the foreign masters of motherland. Scores of them were hanged. The Punjabies played their part in a praise-worthy manner in the Quit-India Movement of 1941-42.

India became independent in August 1947. Pakistan was created by the British in order to meet the demand of the Muslim League of India.

Independence brought a violent storm of untold miseries and sufferings for the Punjabies, *i.e.*, Muslims living in the East

Punjab and the Sikh States of the Punjab and non-Muslims living in West Pakistan, Bahawalpur State, North West Frontier Province, Pathan tribal area, Baluchistan and Sind. The forcible evacuation or exchange of population took place. From West Pakistan came the non-Muslims into India and the Muslims from East Punjab, Punjab States and the adjoining territories of Delhi and U.P. migrated to West Pakistan. Impelled by an instinct of self-preservation mixed with hatred and despair, the Punjabi non-Muslims and Muslims fought, killed and murdered one another. The governments of both the countries remained entrenched in their legal and constitutional positions. No country declared war against the other in spite of the fact, that nationals of both the states were killed within their respective territorial jurisdictions.

It was a war, a strange one in history in which the civilian people were killing and looting the civilian inhabitants of the other country. It is fairly estimated, that during the period August 1947 to December 1947, about five lakh Punjabies were killed. The Congress Party Government in India and the Muslim League Government in Pakistan were watching the killing, ~~shoot~~, shooting arson, abduction of young girls and women on large scale, in their respective territories with the calmness and patience of good umpires in a football game. A few Deputy Commissioners of both the States on their own initiative, of course, acted vigorously in their Districts and stopped the spilling of human blood with strong measures.

After the independence, the Indian leaders Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru and Maulana Azad felt the need of a systematically recorded history of the freedom struggle against the political domination of the British. A Central Board was set up for this purpose in 1954. Provincial Boards were constituted for the collection of source-material. Some of the States have published narratives of the freedom-struggle in their respective territories.

It is most unfortunate, that the Punjab Government up to this time has not published anything in this regard. The necessity of publishing such a narrative requires top priority. The first most important step in the direction is the publication of the source-material. A few books recently published

by professional history writers and book-makers miserably lack authentic references to original documents. In some cases the original texts in the documents have been misconstrued, twisted or interpreted wrongly. The easy availability of source-material will certainly facilitate the work of new generation of writers of history in the Punjab. Compiler's personal experience is, that the older and elder generation of writers of history of the Punjab, only boast of their professional experience and skill in producing such books, but their so called qualities seem to have become petrified. It is advised, that they should now leave the field and instead of discouraging the men of new generation, they should help them with their knowledge of source-material.

The compiler is bringing out the series of original source-material for the purpose of making it available to all general readers, research scholars and writers. He has no pretensions to scholarship either. He has never been in the teaching profession throughout life or a text book writer.

A deep love for studying the history of the people of the Punjab was infused in him by his teacher Late Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., Professor of History, Government College, Lahore in 1930. Later on Late Bhai Sahib Bhai Takhat Singh of Sikh Kanya Mahavidyala, Ferozepore, (...); founded in 1884, got a solemn promise from him to continue his researches in the History of the Sikh people in 1932. The present manager, Bhai Gurbakhsh Singhji, like his father, has always been exhorting the compiler to carry on the work, under all conditions of life. His example of selfless service and love for all is always a source of inspiration to the compiler.

Throughout his life, the compiler at present being 62, was a voracious reader of books. As livelihood-earner, he had had the time and opportunity to mix with all grades of people in the Punjab since 1930 and for searching the source-material.

The original idea and plan of collecting and publishing the source-material of all the political movements in the Punjab was first discussed by the compiler with late Sat Gooroo Partap Singhji Maharaj, the Gooroo of the Kuka community in 1954 at a first informal meeting. They were strangers to one another, but still Sat Goorooji at once agreed to the proposal and promised to

meet all expenses for the collection of source-material, and above all without any conditions or obligations. He further added that source-material relating to all the state-prisoners, political detenus, rebels, mutineers and conspirators during the British rule in India must be collected and that he would meet all the expenses for the publication of such a compilation. The progress of the project was comparatively slower as the compiler could not find ample time for work.

His Holiness' death in 1959 left the compiler as an orphan in the storm.

In April 1963, the management of the concern of his employers terminated the services of the compiler. Naturally he had to leave Delhi and settle at his village. This would have certainly meant the end of his self-imposed task of collecting the source-material from the National Archives of India, New Delhi and its library. On coming to know the fact of his departure from Delhi Sat Gooroo Jagjit Singh, the present Gooroo of the Kuka Community and his younger brother Baba Bir Singhji Maharaj personally assured him to provide a monthly scholarship for carrying on his work as before. A larger portion of expenses are being spent by the compiler from his own sources.

The compiler is deeply indebted to Lala Feroze Chandji, Ex-Chairman of the History of Freedom Movement Board in India (Punjab) and several other friends, who have always been encouraging him to carry on his work, which according to them is very important.

At the time of the publication of the first volume of the source-material, *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs—Documents 1863 to 1872*, first instalment of monetary help, nearly half of the expenses, was contributed by Sardar Surat Singh Sahib of Village Murtzapur, P. O. Pehowa, District Karnal at the instance of Sant Hazara Singh. Sardar Surat Singh is a kind friend, a noble soul and a gentleman, whose example, words and practical action inspired the compiler for putting in more work. The first volume of the series was published in 1965.



For the publication of the second volume of the series, Sardar Surat Singh paid all the expenses amounting to a few thousands. It was published in March 1966.

The present third volume is being published with words of encouragement from many sincere friends and lovers of knowledge. The funds have been furnished by a kind patron, who wants keep his identity and name unknown.

The compiler knows, that the book of this nature or the source-material, without an index of contents and exhaustive annotation is incomplete. He confesses this fault in the book, in the candid fashion of a petty cultivating peasant as he is one, at present living at Village Usmanpur, P. O. Pehowa, District Karnal in Haryana. For this obvious lacuna, he craves the indulgence of his readers and also the research scholars, with of course an excuse or plea that an ageing Indian tiller of soil with limited means at his disposal, could not do better than this.

The fourth volume in the series *Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs—Documents from 1881 to 1900* will be published as soon as some book-lover philanthropist promises to pay the expenses towards its printing. The books of this nature are in no way profitable from business point of view and hence no bookseller or publishing firm would undertake their publication. The Government of India. The Punjab Government or any Indian Univerity has not prepared such a plan as yet.

The fifth volume in the series contains the documents relating to Bhai Maharaj Singh, a rebel against the British rule, who tried to raise the Punjabies against the British in Dec. 1849. Funds for printing and publishing this volume have been very kindly supplied by Sant Ishar Singhji Maharaj Rarewala, Karamsar, District Ludhiana, an old college-fellow of the compiler. It is in the press. The venerable saint belongs to the same line and order of Sikh Divines to which Baba Sahib Singh Bedi of Una, Baba Bir Singh of Naurangabad, his disciples Bhai Maharaj Singh and Baba Khuda Singh, Baba Karam Singh Hoti Mardan, his disciple Sant Attar Singhji of Rampur Rairoo Sahib belonged. The Divine, besides leading a life of meditation and prayers, runs

a free kitchen (Langar for all), a Higher Secondary School, a mechanised farm and has administered Sikh baptism to nearly two lakh people in India and abroad. In making this arrangement, Giani Mehr Singh, an old revolutionary and state prisoner, deserves my personal thanks. The book will be translated into Punjabi by Gianiji himself and will be published soon.

Source-material relating to the Sikh state prisoners including Sardar Chattar Singh Attariwala, Raja Sher Singh Attari, Sardar Mehtab Singh Moraria, Sardar Lal Singh Moraria, Dewen Mool Raj, Dewan Hakim Rai of Sialkot, Sardar Surat Singh Majithia, Sardar Narain Singh, Rani Jindan, Shahzada Sheoden Singh, Sardar Ajit Singh of Ladwa, Sardar Bhoop Singh Rupar, Maharaja Devinder Singh of Nabha, Maharaja Dalip Singh and Sardar Thakur Singh Sindhanwala is ready for press. As soon as funds are available, it will be published.

The compiler thanks all those friends, who have helped him in bringing out the present volume. He is especially indebted to Shri Vidya Parkash, the proprietor of R.K. Printers and other press workers who have always taken keen interest in the printing of his books.

*1st June, 1967.*

- (1) Nahar Singh M.A.  
V. Nangal Khurd,  
P.O. Pakhowal,  
Distt. Ludhiana.
- (2) Nahar Singh M.A.  
c/o Post Master,  
V. Usmanpur,  
Pehowa,  
Karnal, Haryana.



**DOCUMENT No. 1**

*No. 391, dared Lahore 2nd April 1872*

**(Confidential)**

*From*

Lepel H. Griffin Esq.  
Officiating Secctary of the Government Punjab

*To*

C.U. Aitchison, Esq. C.S.I.  
Secretary to the Government of India,  
Foreign Dept.

I am desired to reply to your letter No. 712 P, dated 22nd March, in which you state that the Governor-General-in-Council will be glad to learn what precautions, His Honor has taken with a view to the possibility of the rising 'referred to in the 3rd paragraph of my letter of the 9th March, and to be favoured with Lieut-Governor's opinion of the nature and credibility of the information which have reached him.

2. The information received on this subject is necessarily somewhat general in its nature. It consists of the current reports and belief of the people, the statements of informers, the concurrent reports of the Police Agents and Civil officers in the Divisions of Lahore, Umritsar, Jullundur, and Umballa, and its general tendency, is to the effect that the Kookas meditated a rising against the Government at some convenient times either during the festival of Holee or the Basakhi and the locality for the outbreak was at different times placed in the Sialkote and Goojranwala Districts, and in the Umballa Division and the Cis-Sutlej States, whilst at the same time it was given out that disturbances would commence at Umritsar or Anoundpoor. Nothing more definite than this was asserted and the Lieut-Governor believes the reasons to have been that the Kookas themselves while meditaing some outbreak to

maintain their reputation and encourage such of their Co-religionists as might be wavering, had not fixed upon any particular place or time. but were generally watching a favourable opportunity for creating a disturbance.

3. The precautions which have been taken by this Government would seem amply sufficient to prevent any rising of this fanatical sect. Statistics were carefully prepared some months ago before the Kookas had commenced to abandon their distinctive name and dress ; in all districts of the Punjab. The Lieut-Governor, while not accepting these statistics as absolutely reliable, yet considers that they include the greater number of professed Kookas in the province and form a sufficiently accurate return for practical purpose and for police supervision.

4, The principal leaders of the kooka sect have been deported from the province. All those of influence who remain are under surveillance and their movements are carefully watched. The headmen of rural circles (zeldars) and the headmen of villages have been enjoined to report, under penalty of deprivation of office or other punishments, the movements of the Kookas with in their viilages or circles.

The assembly of more than five Kookas has been forbidden throughout the Province. The carrying in public places of axes, iron-bound sticks, and other weapons which if not coming under the provisions of the Arms Act, but are still formidable in the event of a riot, has been strictly prohibited. A complete system of surveillance and report has been established with reference to the whole sect and the Lieut-Governor believes that no movement of the smallest importance can possibly take place without the government being instantly aware of the same.

5. With reference to the places at which a rising was predicted, *viz*, Umritsar and Annundpoor, I am to state that His Honor the Lieut-governor has himself been at Umritsar during the whole time of the Holee festival which has passed off with the greatest quiet and order, the people of the city of Umritsar and its neighbourhood having shown the best possible temper and indeed, the most friendly disposition towards the

Government. At Annandpoor, where a large assemblage of pilgrims, including among them, many of the fanatical sect of Nihangs and Alkalis, has been accustomed together for the Holee, extra precautions were taken. The Police force was strengthened. A detachment of Cavalry was moved from Umballa to Roopur to be within reach, should its services be required, and the Commissioner of the Division, and the Deputy Commissioner of the District were both present. Mr. Melvill, the Commissioner, who has sent daily reports to government of the progress of the fair, states that every thing has passed off with the utmost quiet and that the temper it is anticipated, that of the people was excellent, that the Basakhi Fair, which will presently take place at Umritsar will pass off without disturbance.

6. The Lieut-Governor desires me to say in conclusion that the same watchfulness over the movements and sentiments of the kooka sect. which has been effectual in the past, will be strictly maintained for the future, though it will be no doubt politic to remove shortly some of the restrictions to free movements of such of the Kookas as bear a good character, as the object, of government is not to keep up a feeling of irritation and proscription, but to induce them to become again quiet members of the community.

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### **DOCUMENT No. 1 (A)**

#### **Remarks in G.G.'s Office**

*From*

**Punjab Government,**

*No. 391, dated 2nd April, 1872.*

#### **The Kooka Rising**

In paragraph 3 of No. III C, dated 9th March last, the Lieut-Governor of the Punjab said :—"From various quarters information is received that in the course of next month (April) a combined rising will be attempted. From the precautions

taken, and the information in possession of government of the movements of all influential members of the sect, any such rising would be instantly suppressed."

We asked in paragraph 3 of our No. 712P dated 22nd March, what precautions His Honor had taken with a view to the possibility of the rising referred to, and requested that he would favour us with his opinion as to the nature and credibility of the information which had reached him.

This is the reply. The information consists of the current reports and the beliefs of the people, the statements of informers, the concurrent reports of Police Agents and Civil Officers in the Divisions of Lahore Umritsar, Jullundur and Umballa, and its general tendency is that a rising was meditated either during the Holee or the Basakhi Festival, the locality being variously placed in the Sialkote and Gojranwalla Districts and the Umballa Division and the Cis-Sutlej States; while other reports said that disturbances would commence at Umritsar or Annundpoor.

13-4-72

(Sd) C.J.L.

A copy of this may be sent confidentially both to the Home and Military Departments.

The anticipation of a rising does not appear to have much foundation.

13-4-72

(Sd) C.U.A.

Yes

(Sd) N.

Circulate to the Members of Government for information. The measure of repression and observation sanctioned by the Lieut. Governor seem to have been excellent and effectual, but the apprehensions of a rising are not substantiated by documentary statements from local officers.

(Sd) N.

Seen

13-4-72	(Sd)	J.F.S,
18-4-72	(Sd)	H.W.N.
19-4-72	(Sd)	B.H.E.
20-4-72	(Sd)	R.T.
22-4-72	(Sd)	J.S.

The Punjab rising in 1848 was preceded by similar reports No one could get hold of anything very tangible ; it was the current report of the people that something would take place. If there had been a serious intention at the present time it must have been entirely disconcerted by the preparations made and the measures taken especially the departing of the leaders, and I should not throw any discredit on precautions because they might have been successfull.

23-4-72 (Sd) N. of M.

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### DOCUMENT No. 2

Disturbances Committed by the Kookas in the Punjab.

*No. 15 dated India Office, London, the 4th April, 1872*

*From*

Her Majest'y Secy. of State for India.

*To*

The Government of India.

The despatch of your Excellency in Council, dated 16th Feb., No. 14, of 1872, forwarding a copy of further papers relative to the disturbances committed by the Kookas in the Panjab, has been considered by me in Council.

(2) I fully concur in the views stated in the letter of the Govt. of India to the address of the Govt. of the Panjab, and I shall await the further explanations of the officers concerned in the repression of the outbreak, the opinion of the Lt. Governor of the Panjab, and the final orders of Your Excellency in Council on the whole matter

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### DOCUMENT No. 3

Accommodation provided for Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief, a State Prisoner at Rangoon.

*No. 312, dated Rangoon, the 5th April, 1872*

*From*

W.P. Kelly, Esq.  
Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma.

*To*

The Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.  
In reply to your letter No. 154-53, dated 25th ultimo.

I have the honour to report that state prisoner Ram Singh is lodged in an upstairs house, formerly used as a female prison, within the walls of the Central Jail here,—the enclosure within which the house stands has been palisaded and boarded up on the south side to separate it entirely from the adjacent enclosure of the European prisoners' ward, and contains a wall, cook house and latrine. He has been provided with a bed, chairs, punkha, etc. ; he is allowed to do as he likes, and is perfectly free within the enclosure, and is not locked up at night, as he wishes to sleep outside on the ground during the hot weather. The only restriction on him is that he is not allowed to communicate with the outer world.

2. Three high caste Hindoo prisoners have been allowed to him as attendants, as only one servant arrived with him here from India.

3. A cow has been bought for him, she is kept in the enclosure of his house ; he is allowed to have every thing he wants in the shape of food, but his requirements seems to be moderate.

4. The cost for food for himself and servant will be about Rupees 40 per mensem ; shoes and cloth, to the amount of Rupees 40, have been supplied to him, the cow cost Rupees 75, and the chairs, table, punkha and cot supplied by the Jail are worth about Rupees 50.

5. He appears to be in good health, but is depressed and restless especially at night, and complains much of the heat, although the building in which he is lodged is as cool as any place can be in Rangoon during the hot weather.

6. With reference to para. 4 of the Home Secretary letter No. 470, dated 10th March 1872, I have the honour to enclose a written promise from the servant Nanoo Singh (the orders of Government having been fully explained to him) testifying his willingness to remain with Ram Singh under whatever restriction Government may from time to time see fit to impose.

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### **DOCUMENT 3A**

*From*

J. Talboys Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secretary to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

*To*

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.  
Secy. to the Government of India.

In continuation of my letter No. 121, dated the 16th ultimo, respecting the accommodation furnished to Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief, in the Central Jail at Rangoon. I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Government of India, a communication on

the subject, No. 312, dated the 5th instant, which has been since received from the Inspector General of Prisons.

2. It will be observed from Dr. Kelly's letter that Ram Singh has been lodged in a separate house surrounded by palisades within the prison walls ; and that he is perfectly free within his own enclosure, and has been provided with every reasonable comfort consistent with his safe custody.

The Officiating Chief Commissioner has paid a visit to Ram Singh, who appeared to be much depressed at his incarceration, and made many complaints of the restraint to which he was subjected. Mr. Eden endeavored to meet these complaints as far as possible, but the chief grievance of Ram Singh referred to his being confined inside the Jail, and to the heat,

4. The Officiating Chief Commissioner is not disposed to lay much stress upon the latter complaint, as he can scarcely think that the climate of Rangoon can be so hot as that of the Punjab, and in all probability the heat will only continue a few weeks longer.

5. As regards the restraint to which Ram Singh is subjected within the Jail, Mr. Eden fears that it may lead to loss of health, as he seems disposed to be feverish and irritable, and is apparently not a strong man, but he is scarcely aware of what the wishes of Government may be upon this point. If the circumstances of the case would permit of any relaxation, he would suggest that Ram Singh be located in the building now used as the Cantonment Post Office, which is situated close to the Main Guard, and is the house in which the late Ex—King of Delhi was confined. It is a stockaded building, and is immediately under the eye of the Main Guard. Should it now be appropriated to the purpose indicated, the palisade would require repair.

6. If Ram Singh be lodged in these quarters, a Native Officer and eight men must be employed as a special guard Over him ; and the whole of the expenditure should be a special charge against the Political Department, as he is not detained in connection with the administration of this Province. The Officiating Chief Commissioner is further of opinion that



a pony carriage might be kept for use of Ram Singh, and that he might be taken three times a week for a drive under the special charge of an Inspector of Police. It may be added that it is very detrimental to the discipline of the Jail that a State prisoner of the description and character of the Kuka Chief should be confined within the walls.

7. Should the proposed arrangement appear to be undesirable, Mr. Eden can only suggest that Ram Singh may be sent to Tavoy, where a small bungalow might be built in which he could be safely quartered.

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### DOCUMENT 3B

Remarks on the file in G.G's Office.

Reference to former cases.

List of Papers.

*Progs. March 1872, Nos. 135 to No. 137.*

From the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. No. 200-53. P, dated 13th April, reporting the accommodation provided for Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief, a State Prisoner at Rangoon.

The question is whether Ram Singh is to continue in confinement in the Rangoon Jail or be removed to another building at Rangoon, or sent to Tavoy.

H.W.W.

Mr. Eden's proposal in paragraph 5 seems fair, but the pony carriage seems hardly needed; it would probably be better for Ram Singh's health to take walking exercise.

F.C.B., 24-4-72.

CERTAINLY not, but this the only luxury he might be allowed at his own expense. I think the proposal to put him

into a separate building is right. The Financial Department will decide as to the cost ; it cannot be charged to the Burmah Provincial Revenues.

B.H.E., 26-4-72.

I would put him in the separate house and give him the pony carriage, telling him that these indulgences would be withdrawn if he is discovered in correspondence with his adherent elsewhere. I would telegraph this.

(Sd) N.

I would also tell Mr. Eden that Government would be interested in knowing more about the schemes and religious views of Ram Singh, and of the character which he attributes to his own mission, if particulars of this nature could be elicited from him in conversation.

(Sd) N.

I am compelled to differ from His Excellency. Ram Singh very narrowly escaped transportation for life as a criminal, and he would have been transported if we could have relied on the witnesses who gave evidence of his complicity in the butcher murders ; not being tampered with before the final trial. I cannot see why we should give such a man a pony carriage.

The Financial Department must see this case in reference to the expenditure to be incurred.

B.H.E., 29-4-72.

I do not insist on the purchase of a pony carriage. I would give him the necessary driving exercise in any form.

(Sd) N.

I quite concur in this.

B.H.E., 3-5-72.

**DOCUMENT 3C**

*No. 872, dated the 3rd May, 1872.*

Endorsed by the Home Department,

FORWARDED to the Financial Department for an early expression of opinion as to the adjustment of the charges involved in the Chief Commissioner's proposals, which should not be debited to the Provincial Revenues. Mr. Eden's recommendation for locating Ram Singh in the Cantonment Post Office Building is approved. The purchase of a pony carriage cannot be allowed ; but if such exercise is considered necessary by the Medical authorities, one can be hired for the purpose.

Early reply requested, (Original papers to be returned).

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**DOCUMENT 4**

*Demi Official.*

*Dated the 10th April 1872.*

*From*

Lieutenant-Colonel Bailie,  
Officiating Deputy Inspector General of Police,  
Lahore Circle.

*To*

Lieut. Colonel G. Hutchinson,  
Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

I sent for the Chief Soobas from Bhainee to meet me at the Sanehwal Thannah, on the night of Ram Singh's deportation, and before going myself to Bhainee to disperse the Kookas assembled there. The following came at my summons :

Kahn Singh alias Nehung Singh, Brahma Singh, Pahara Singh, Hookma Singh, Gopal Singh and Sujan Singh.

The two last were not named for deportation. They were very 'small fry', and were set free at Loodiana at once, I think.

On going over to Bhainee, aftee sending off the above named Soobas to Loodiana, I found some 150 to 200 Kookas assembled there. Among them the following Soobas, whose names I entered at the time in my note-book.

Harsa Singh Grunthi, Dhurin Singh, Hurnam Singh, brother of Gyancee Singh, Heera Singh, of Sadhowra, Surmukh Singh, Khazan Singh, Summund Singh.

There may have been others who did not come forward, and admit themselves as Soobas. The above are the only ones whose names I took a note of.

Later in the day Mullook Singh, Sooba, whom I had sent for from the canal works, where he had a contract, was brought in. This man was one of the Soobas named for deportation.

### DOCUMENT NO. 5

*No. 192-53P, dated Rangoon, the 13th April, 1872.*

*From*

J. Talboys Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah.

*To*

C.U. Aitchison, Esq.,  
C.S.I., Secy. to the Government of India,  
Foreign Department.

I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of the despatch from the Officiating Under Secretary, No. 627, dated the 28th ultimo, reporting the suspicions of the Punjab Government that Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief, is keeping up a communication with the Punjab through two servants and a bunniah.

2. In reply Mr. Eden invites the attention of the Government of India to the fact that the letter from the Punjab Government was written on the 16th ultimo, being the very day on which Ram Singh landed at Rangoon. It would thus appear that any correspondence between Ram Singh and his adherents in the Punjab must have been carried on before the Chief left Calcutta. Since the arrival of the Kuka Chief in Rangoon, he has been residing within the walls of the Central Jail under very careful surveillance and has only one servant with him.

*[No. 1003 P, dated the 24th April, 1872.]*

Endorsed by the Foreign Department.

Transferred to the Home Department.

No. orders.

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## **DOCUMENT NO. 6**

*No. 1383, dated Lahore, the 19th April, 1872.*

*From*

C.M. Rivaz, Eqs.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Government of the Punjab.

*To*

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Secretary to the Government of India.

I am desired to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter from the Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur, giving an account of the public renunciation of Kuka doctrines by 8 Bedis of the town of Dera Baba Nanuk and their readmission to the orthodox Sikh Community.

No. 175, dated 6th April 1872

From

Lieut. Col. J. Fendall,  
Deputy Commissioner, Gurdaspur.

To

Lieut.—Col. C.H. Hall,  
Offg. Commr. and Supdt. Amritsar Division.

I have the honour to inform you that on Thursday last Mr. Christie, late District Superintendent of Police of this District, informed me that Hari Singh, of Singhpura (Compiler). Zaildar of Dera Nanuk circle, a Kuka was anxious to recant and be readmitted into the Sikh fraternity. I immediately sent for him, and in Mr. Christie's presence, asked him whether he was sincere in his recantation, warning him that Government did not trouble itself to, of what religion its subjects were, but that for the public safety, it was absolutely necessary that a watchful eye should be kept on all the members of a sect whose tenets, as far as shown by their acts, inculcated *murder and rebellion*. Hari Singh answered that he was perfectly willing to renounce Kukaism, as were also his two sons Narain Singh and Sham Singh. I may state that the former was generally known as the Naib Subah under Kartar Singh, of Dera Nanuk, and was looked on as one of the most fanatical of the sect. On Hari Singh informing me that he was willing to recant, I told him a simple recantation in my present was not sufficient, that he and his sons must recant in the temple at Dera Nanuk, and be formally readmitted into the Sikh fraternity. This he promised should be done. I, therefore, told him that Mr. Christie and I would attend to make certain of his having giving up Kukaism, and that we would be at Dera Nanuk on Saturday morning.

2. We accordingly arrived here this morning, when to my surprise, Kartar Singh Bedi, one of Ram Singh's Subahs with four other Bedis, viz., Amar Singh, Gunda Singh, Partab Singh, and Jagir Singh, also said they want to retract. I explained matters to them as I had to Hari Singh, and they all said they were willing to make a public recantation in the temple.

3. At noon I and Mr. Christie went to the temple. The eight men named above were set aside, and called up one by one by the Priests of the temple, and formally examined by them. They were asked what they came for, and answered that they came to ask to be re-admitted into the Sikh fraternity. They were then asked why they had left it; they answered they had been deceived and cajoled by Ram Singh. They were then asked if they believed in him as a Guru. They answered that they did not that they looked on him as an imposter, that he had promised them to re-establish Sikh Supremacy, and inculcated rebellion and murder with a view of gaining a name, but that now they considered him an out-caste, and no better than a sweeper. They then one by one bowed down to the shrine in the temple and to the "Granth". Hari Singh was fined Rs. 55, the others the customary and old established sum of one rupee four annas. After this they were duly blessed by the presiding priest, and re-admitted into the Sikh Community. There were present Commandant Babu Jewan Singh, late of 1st Oudh Police, Mohants Hari Dass and Manohar Dass, Bedis Hardas Singh Sundar Singh, Gurbakhsk Singh and Sant Singh and Noor Mohd, and Mirza Niaz Beg, Mouvie Karam Bakhsk Zaildars, Kadar Baksh, and all the members of the Municipal Committee. There were also a large concourse of people, the enclosure in front of the temple being quite crowded.

4. These eight men, some of them of great social influence and all men of mark have thus in the most solemn and public manner abjured Kukaism. and denounced Ram Singh as an imposter. I would further beg to point out that there is a peculiar significance as to the place at which, and the men before whom, the abjuration was made. As to the first you are aware that the temple of Dera Nanuk is the most ancient and sacred place of Sikh worship. The Golden temple at Amritsar is a far richer and more popular institution, but the temple at Dera Nanuk as the place of Baba Nanuk's death, and one founded by him is undoubtedly the most sacred Sikh shrine in the Punjab. As to the men before whom the recantation was made, you may remember that in 1869 Ram Sihgh paid a visit to the Mahants of Dera Nanuk to discuss the differences in their tenets. The interview resulted in a most,

violent quarrel and though one of Ram Singh's Soubah's was specially sent to effect a reconciliation, his mission had no success. It is therefore, a fact well worthy of note that the eight Kukas have abjured their tenets at the very temple and before the very men, where and with whom Ram Singh had a most violent quarrel.

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### **DOCUMENT 7**

*No. 20, dated India Office, London 25th of April, 1872*

*From*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

*To*

The Government of India.

The despach of your Excellency in Council, dated 15th March, No 17 of 1872, relative to the removal of Ram Singh, the Kuka leader to British Burmah under Provisions of the Act III of 1818 has been considered be me in Council.

2. In reply, I have to express my approval of the proceedings of your excellency in Council.

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**DOCUMENT 8**

*Circular Memo No. 199. Dated Lahore 29th April, 1872*

*To*

All Commissioners and Superintendents

His Honor, understanding that in some districts local authorities have, on their own account imposed severe restrictions on Kukas forbidding them to leave their homes etc. H.E. desires that only those of the sect believed to be dangerous to be kept under such restrictive measures as the authorities may think necessary.

The movements of only the dangerous man be restricted.

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**DOCUMENT 9**

Dismissal of Kookas from the Police.

*No. 207, dated Lahore, the 30th April, 1872*

*From*

Lieutenant Cononel G. Hutchison, C.S.I.  
Under Secy. to the Government of the Punjab.

*To*

E.C. BAYLEY, ESQ, C.S.I.  
Secy. to the Government of India.

I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to acknowledge receipt of your No. 773 of 19th instant regarding the dismissal of Kookas from the Police, with reference to the sanction therein given, to say that His Honor does not purpose to act on it at present, as circumstances have materially changed, but he is glad to have it by him, should he consider such a procedure necessary.

## DOCUMENT 10

*No. 875, dated the 30th April.**From*

E.C. Bayley, Esq. C.S.I.  
Secy. to the Government of India.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of the  
Punjab.

I continuation of my letter No. 569 dated 22nd March  
No, 1270, dated 11th last, and with reference to your reply  
April 1872 noted in the margin, on the subject of the  
prisoners at Malar Kotla, I am directed  
to state that the Governor General in Council is now in a  
position to pass final orders in this painful case.

2. His Excellency in Council has maturely considered the facts stated by Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan, and the expressions of His Honor the Lieutenant—Governor's opinion contained in your letters of the 19th January, No. 23C, the 7th Feb. No. 59C, and of the 16th Feb. No. 78C, and, without re-capitulating all the circumstances of the case, which will be found in the memorandum appended, he thinks it right to recall the following leading facts to your recollection as being those on which his decision proceeds.

3. On the 17th January 49 persons, many of whom were wounded, were by Mr. Cowan's orders blown away from guns at Malerkotla without trial. That these persons had been guilty of a great crime that is no doubt, but both the manner of the execution and its excessive and indiscriminate severity stand in need of the strongest justification. In the opinion of His Excellency in Council nothing short of absolute necessity could justify these proceedings. If any judicial enquiry, however summary, had taken place, a distinction might have been made between ringleaders and followers, and the usual mode of punishment would have been employed. At the time when

the Extra-Judicial execution was ordered, the disturbance which had taken place had been effectually suppressed, Mr. Cowan had at his disposal considerable bodies of troops, and there is no evidence, whatever, to show, that actual immediate danger was or could have been apprehended either from the prisoners themselves, or from other members of the sect to which they belonged. The only fact which can be said to suggest the existence of such danger is that various small bodles of Kukas were seen in the neighbourhood of Maler Kotla who promptly disappeared. It appears, however to His Excellency in Council that their dispersion was owing to the defeat of their associates, and not to the summary punishment inflicted, and in this belief he is supported by the view taken by His Honor in your letter of the 7th February above quoted, paragraph 10, in which it is said—

“The Lieutenant Governor is not of opinion that the evidence now submitted indicates that the immediate retirement of the bands of Kukas who were observed moving towards Kotla was the result of the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, for in nearly every instance they are said to have gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. Their retirement appears to have been caused really by the attack having been beaten off by the Kotla people”.

4. It is, in short, obvious both from the circumstances of the case and from many expressions in Mr. Cowan's letters that his motive in ordering the executions was to prevent a rising which he considered imminent by an act calculated to strike terror into the whole of the Kuka sect. In illustration of this, it is to be observed that both Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan refer to the small effect which the execution of the Raikote murderers in due course of law had in the way of deterring the Kukas from further violence.

5. Before adverting to the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, the Governor General in Council thinks it right to make some general observations on the principle on which that officer seems to have proceeded, as His Excellency in Council has reason to fear that it may have

considerable influence on the minds of officers who feel themselves liable to be placed in positions of difficulty. This principle, perhaps, rather felt than avowed, is that law is meant only for quiet times, and that officers are justified in disregarding it, as soon as political danger is apprehended, and in substituting punishments inflicted at their own discretion and without any other measure than their own estimate, formed on the spot under the pressure of immediate excitement of what is required in the particular case for the sake of example.

6. This view appears to His Excellency in Council to involve a grave error.

7. His Excellency in Council desires to impress in the most emphatic manner on all Civil and Military Officers whom it may concern, the broad principle that the law of the land administered by the established courts is the instrument to which Government looks, and in which it trusts, for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace, and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors ; and that it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide upon the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society, or that the punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular offences with exceptional severity or to arm particular officers with special powers of summary trial and execution ; but till this is done, the duty of all Civil and Military Officers in all cases is to treat criminals when captured in the regular course of law, that is to say, to hand them over for a trial to the proper tribunals.

8. In order to show that this course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required in the most arduous circumstances, it is necessary to bear in mind that for the suppression of violent crime, and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorizes and indeed requires the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. Rebels with arms in

their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen, all who aid and abet them, may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as armed invaders may be attacked. If their behaviour and number is such that it would, upon Military grounds be improper to grant them quarter if they were engaged in ordinary war, they might be killed upon the spot. In short there is no severity, which by the usages of war, may be inflicted upon the enemy's troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up, which may not in strict accordance with law, be inflicted upon bands of criminals, whether rebels are not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest.

9. The one thing which cannot be permitted to any Civil or Military Officers in any case whatever, is the irregular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator. No such officer has the right to punish his prisoners still less has he any right to punish them according to a law made by himself, after the fact, and in reference to the circumstances of a particular case. The law authorises the officers to do whatever is necessary in order to suppress crime and arrest criminals, but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoners when taken, as they think proper.

10. Officers may perhaps be assisted in understanding and applying to particular cases, as they arise, the principles above stated by a few observations on the policy which they are meant to carry out.

11. To administer justice with mercy is the fixed policy of the Government of India, but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberation and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement, and with little time for reflection, are liable to be neither just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for acts of vigour when they are in truth acts of weakness, such orders frequently show that those who gave them doubt their own strength, and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents.

12. The Governor General in Council cannot consent to assume the attitude in which the ratification of such acts would please him. His Excellency in Council trusts, on the one hand, in the effect which a course of just and merciful rule cannot fail to produce in time in the minds of the people. He relies, on the other hand, on the existence of military force sufficient to protect the mass of quiet and well disposed persons against the small minority, who for whatever reasons might be willing to plunge the country into anarchy and Civil War.

13. His Excellency in Council cannot consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of the acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime, and there is no occasion for indiscriminate severity ; nor in any case could the exercise of such severity be a source of strength.

14. With references to the special circumstances of Mr. Cowan's case, His Excellency in Council has to observe as follows.

15. In the first place His Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Referring to the principle already stated, there is no circumstance which tends to justify or even to excuse Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded, they had surrendered to very inferior number and were under the guard of a considerable military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure from which there was no excuse, His Excellency in Council can not regard as an excuse, Mr. Cowan's belief that an execution was politically expedient. In fact that is to set aside the existing law, because he thought it expedient to do so in the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which His Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed.

16. There are, however other matters in connection with Mr. Cowan's conduct which it is impossible to pass over, and

which have been in past brought to His Excellency's notice at a very late stage in the proceedings. The following references to the documents on record will set this in a clear light.

17. On the 16th January, Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men in a summary manner.

18. On the same day Mr. Forsyth wrote Mr. Cowan a demi-official note which has been lost, in which Mr. Forsyth directed Mr. Cowan to send the prisoner to Sherpur to be kept until Mr. Forsyth could send a guard to take charge of them. Mr. Forsyth believes that his letter said that the guard was to take them to Ludhiana for trial. Mr. Cowan believes that trial was not referred to this as it may, the letter reached Mr. Cowan some hours before any of the executions took place. He says....."I put the note in my pocket and thought no more about it. It contained only a suggestion which could not be acted on, for the captured Kookas were then closed to Kotla on their way in." This conduct would imply that in Mr. Cowan's opinion the main point of the note was that the men should be sent to Sherpur, where as it should have been also apparent to Mr. Cowan that Mr. Forsyth desired that the men should be kept in custody.

19. The execution, therefore, can not be reconciled with the spirit of Mr. Forsyth's instructions and took place before any reply had been received to a telegraphic message sent by Mr. Cowan the day before to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men only.

20. Before the executions were finished, and whilst 6 or 7 men were tied to the guns, Mr. Cowan received an official letter containing a positive order from Mr. Forsyth to proceed according to law. Mr. Forsyth's words were "I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment and I shall then give immediate orders. But with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand." Upon this Mr. Cowan says..."After reading Mr.



Forsyth's letter I handed it to Colonel Perkins District Superintendent of Police with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of men already tied to guns, that such a proceedings would have the worst effect on the people around us,"

21. His Excellency in Council can not see that there could be any serious difficulty in staying the execution without even communicating the reasons for doing so to the bystanders. It was Mr. Cowan's clear duty to obey Mr. Forsyth's order in a case in which the lives of 6 or 7 persons were at stake, and where the act forbidden was upon the face of it illegal.

22. While the Governor General in Council recognises that the lives of all the criminals involved in the recent outbreak in the Punjab were in principle forfeited to the laws, His Excellency is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which gave it a complexion of barbarity that course was commenced in opposition with spirit of instructions received from superior authority, and, in the absence of sanction, invoked but not awaited ; it was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.

23. Under all these circumstances, His Excellency in Council is compelled to direct that Mr. Cowan be removed from the service. He does so with deep regret, as Mr. Cowan's previous character and conduct have been exceptionable, and as he acted with promptitude in resorting to measures for the suppression of the movement.

(24) It remains now to consider the case of Mr. Forsyth in reference to the approval passed by him on the act of Mr. Cowan, and the confirmation by him as Commissioner of Ambala of the sentence passed by the native officials of the Malerkotla State with the concurrence of Mr. Cowan against 16 others prisoners.

25. In confirming this sentence, and in ordering the immediate execution of the prisoners, Mr. Forsyth was acting



in political rather than in a judicial capacity. It is the duty of the officers so situated to be specially on their guard against permitting the Native States which are under their Superintendence to act with a degree of harshness or precipitation alien to the spirit of English rule ; and although Mr. Forsyth's proceedings were no doubt legal, that fact alone ought not to protect him from censure, if his proceedings showed a want of that merciful discrimination which ought in all cases to be characteristic of the British administration of justice. In this Mr. Forsyth seems to His Excellency in council to have failed and the failure was apparently due to his having permitted a not unnatural desire to support a subordinate, to assume undue prominence in his mind in a case where interests of far greater importance were concerned.

26. On the morning of January 17th, Mr. Forsyth had telegraphed to the Punjab Government as follows :

“Referring to Mr. Cowan’s telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement, better allayed, &c. &c.”

27. On the night of the 16th January he wrote a demi-official letter, which reached Mr. Cowan before the execution. On the 17th he wrote two separate letters, one official and one demi-official ; the first directing Mr. Cowan, and the second requesting him in the most pressing, though in most friendly terms, not to proceed illegally. On the 18th having received the report of the executions, he gave an unqualified confirmation of all that Mr. Cowan had done, on the following terms ; “My dear Cowan,.....I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out.” Mr. Forsyth thus anticipated without necessity the opinions of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Government of India, committed superior authorities as far as he could, to sentiments which might be repugnant to their judgement, and directly reversed his distinct resolution formed and expressed upto that moment. On the same day he confirmed the sentence of the Maler Kotla authorities and ordered the im-

mediate executions of the 16 men condemned by them, a course was warranted by the necessity of making a further example or by the character of the parties concerned, among whom various shades of guilt might by a less cursory enquiry have been discovered.

28. In Mr. Forsyth's explanation of the course taken by him, he says in his letter of the 8th April, 1872..."I take this opportunity to make some remarks explanatory of the sentence carried into execution against the 16 men on the 18th January."

"When the case was submitted for my orders, I had to consider it in its judicial aspect, as well as from a political point of view."

"Now, taking the judicial view of the case as it stood by itself, quite apart from all other considerations, 16 men belonging to a gang who had committed a double series of murders were pronounced to be guilty of the charge preferred against them. The sentence for their crime was death; and, had the case been tried in the court governed by our laws, it would have been incumbent on me to show very good cause why that sentence should be mitigated. Had the case then been a solitary one, there would have been no ground for hesitating to confirm a sentence of death passed on 16 men, than there would have been last year for the Chief Court to hesitate to pass sentence on 12 men for the murder of the butchers."

"I had, however, to consider all the surrounding circumstances, and the first one which would naturally influence me was the fact that so many men had already suffered for the same offence. But there were counterbalancing arguments which I now propose to reproduce."

"One consideration was that, if the case admitted of it, Mr. Cowan ought to be supported. However much I might have depreciated his proposed action, and inwardly deplored it when as yet not taken, still when once done I felt myself placed in an entirely different, and, it will be readily conceded, in a most difficult position. To hastily disavow his proceedings,

and to cancel his acts at such a moment, I considered would be unwise."

He adds in subsequent paragraphs that he had a conversation with Ram Singh: which gave him a strong impression of the serious character of the outbreak; that whilst the sentence was awaiting sanction, he heard a report of Kooka bands being in the neighbourhood; and that the Sirdar of Malodh pressed him to pass sentence of death. The prominent feeling in his mind, however seems to have been that Mr. Cowan ought to be supported in an act which Mr. Forsyth himself had repeatedly forbidden.

29. In confirmity with the views enunciated above, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that while Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of any illegal action, he had in small degree identified himself with the errors committed by Mr. Cowan; that he failed to discern his duty as counsellor to a Native Government in a serious emergency; and that he acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognised policy of the Government of India.

50. His Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth's conduct will be adequately dealt with by his removal of his Commissionership of Umbala to a position in an other Province in which he will not have to superintend the Judicial proceedings of any Native State, and by an expression of the opinion of the Govt. of India that he ought not in future be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence.

31. The Governor General in Council is constrained to notice with regret that two documents essential to the information of the Supreme Government in this case were not brought to his knowledge in regular course and at the commencement of this correspondence, *viz.*, the demi-official letter written by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 16th January since mislaid and the letter addressed by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 18th confirming his proceedings.

32. It is with great concern that his Excellency in Council feels compelled to pass orders which affect so seriously officers

whose fault has no doubt been due mainly to over-zeal for the maintenance of peace and order, but he considers it absolutely necessary to cause it to be understood that, whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measure, however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of the peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion. The line between the two things is broad and clear, and the Governor-General in Council would be equally prompt to notice any remissness in the use of the means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice. He has no fear that the course which it has been necessary to take with regard to the present case will deter other officers from a becoming energy and promptitude in presence of dangers. On the other hand His Excellency in Council feels as little that the course now taken will be misunderstood by the Native population. He trusts that this example will teach them that under British rule all alike must obey the law and they may be well assured that the punishment now inflicted on a British officer who has broken the law is not in any way connected with indifference or indulgence to the crime of those whom he punished unlawfully. Their offence was deserving of exemplary punishment, though it should have been inflicted in a proper manner, with greater moderation and with more discrimination between the degrees of guilt of the persons concerned. And lastly, His Excellency trusts the present decision will make it clear to all classes that such proceedings as Mr. Cowan's are forbidden by law, and are bad in policy, because they leave no time for moderation and discrimination, and take away the distinction between the deliberate satisfaction of the requirements of justice, and hasty acceptance of the suggestions of excitement and alarm.

33. In communicating this review of the conduct of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner the Governor-General in Council considers it due to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to refer to the sentiments enunciated by His Honour in connection with those which His Excellency in Council has felt bound to record.

The Lieutenant-Governor, from the first, embraced and expressed the opinion that the conduct of Mr. Cowan was unjustifiable in regard to the precipitation, illegality and indiscriminate rigour of his proceedings. A consideration of the exciting circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, of the Political danger which he apprehended, and of the necessity of supporting officers of Government in acts even of excessive severity when done in good faith and for the public interest, induced the Lieutenant-Governor to withhold an expression of blame which would have been otherwise in accordance with its sentiments, and of which the Governor General in Council would have approved. His Excellency is, however, happy to be able to recognise that there is no essential difference between the views entertained by the Governor General in Council and those of the High Officer entrusted with the administration and security of a province so important as the Punjab.

No. 863 P, dated the 2nd May 1872.

No. 126.

Copy forwarded to the Financial Department, with a request, with reference to paragraph 23, that Her Majesty's Secretary of State may be moved to authorise the grant to Mr. Cowan of the pension Rupees 300 per mensem, or Rupees 3,600 per annum.

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**DOCUMENT No. 11**

*Telegram dated 1st May, 1872*

*From*

The Viceroy

*To*

Lieutenant-Governor,  
Lahore.

Orders in Kuka case sent by post today. Governor General in Council compelled to condemn conduct both of

Mr. Cowan and of Mr. Forsyth. Former will be removed from the service, Mr. Forsyth transferred to Commissionership in Oudh. Secretary of State will be asked to sanction pension for Mr. Cowan.

No. 860-Copy by post in cypher.

## DOCUMENT 12

*No. 28, dated and 2nd May 1872.*

*From*

The Government of India.

*To.*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In continuation of our despatches noted on the margin,

Judicial to Secretary of State

No. 7, dated 19th January 1872  
 „ No. 9, dated 2nd February 1872  
 „ No. 12, dated 2nd February 1872  
 „ No. 14, dated 16th February „  
 „ No. 17, dated 15th March, 1872

we transmit, for Your Grace's information, copy of further papers, noted in the annexed list, relating to the recent disturbances by Kukas at Malodh and Malehr Kotla, the summary

execution of the Kuka prisoners at the latter place, and the conduct of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of the Ludhiana District, and Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala Division in connection therewith.

2. We beg to refer to our letter to the Punjab Government, No. 857, dated the 30th ultimo, and to the memorandum mentioned in the 2nd paragraph thereof, for full details of the circumstances of this painful case, and of the grounds on which we have determined to remove Mr. Cowan from the service, and to transfer Mr. Forsyth from his present appointment in the Punjab to a position in another Province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of a Native State. We have also recorded our opinion that Mr. Forsyth should not in future be employed on similar duty.

3. In directing Mr. Cowan's removal from the service, we have done so with deep regret, both on account of his previous good character and conduct, and because he acted with promptitude in the first instance in concerting measures for the repression of the Kuka movement. We propose to address Your Grace in the Financial Department, requesting that Mr. Cowan may be admitted to the benefit of a pension.

List of Papers to accompany Judicial despatch from the Government of India, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State No. 28, dated 2nd May 1872.

- |     |      |            |        |       |                |           |
|-----|------|------------|--------|-------|----------------|-----------|
| 1.  | Form | Punjab No. | 59C,   | dated | 7th Feb. 1872, | and encl. |
| 2.  | "    | "          | 65C,   | "     | 18th " "       | "         |
| 3.  | "    | "          | 68C,   | "     | 12th " "       | "         |
| 4.  | "    | "          | 70C,   | "     | 12th " "       | and encl. |
| 5.  | "    | "          | 72C,   | "     | 12th " "       | "         |
| 6.  | "    | "          | 76C,   | "     | 14th " "       | "         |
| 7.  | "    | "          | 89C,   | "     | 20th " "       | "         |
| 8.  | To   | "          | 569C,  | "     | 22nd Mar. "    | "         |
| 9.  | From | "          | 101C,  | "     | 24th Feb. "    | "         |
| 10. | "    | "          | 914C,  | "     | 15th Mar. "    | "         |
| 11. | "    | "          | 1270C, | "     | 11th April "   | "         |
| 12. | To   | "          | 857C,  | "     | 30th " "       | "         |
13. Momorandum refers in the foregoing letter the Punjab Government.

**COMPILERS' NOTE**

Important extracts from reports regarding the Kooka Soobahs confined in the Allahabad fort. These reports were compiled by the Deputy Commissioners and the suporintendents of Police of the districts concerned, and submitted to the Inspector-General of Police Punjab. (March-April 1872).

The reports with me cover about 150 double space typed pages only. These reports contain valuable historical material regarding the Namdharies, and their mode of life, etc.

NAHAR SINGH



**CONFIDENTIAL**

*No. 44 dated 29th March, 1872*

*From*

The District Superintendent of Police,  
Goojranwalla.

*To*

The Inspector General of Police,  
Punjab.

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your dockets marginally noted, calling for information regarding the antecedents of the Kooka Soobhas deported to Allahabad and for the depositions of men of family and respectability in support of their notoriety as Soobhas and propagandists and for record of their seditious teaching.

2. Of the ten men named in your docket No. 122, I regret being unable to furnish the required information in respect to any but Brahma Singh, who was the Soobha of this locality but resided and worked principally in the Sealkote District, although he did make tours in this District also.

3. With my docket No. 43 of this date, I have submitted a tabular return, indicating all the information that can be gathered regarding the antecedents of Brahma Singh and the evidence in support of it. To this I can only now add a precise of my confidential reports from July last, wherein I noted such information as reached me from time to time of the proceeding, sayings and doings of Brahma Singh, and I may explain in doing so that I was even when making these reports so struck with obviously seditious and dangerous nature of speeches and teachings, or preaching imputed to Brahma Singh and so convinced that the Kookas, judging from their demeanour and

manner, meant mischief and evidently been worked up. whether secretly or openly, by their religious teachers and guides into so dangerous a state of religious excitement, that I felt it my duty to bring the subject prominently to notice and to convey a warning to this effect to the District Superintendent of Police of Sealkote.

4. In my confidential report of 15th July 1871, I stated that Brahma Singh has recently arrived at Vurrin in the Shekupura District and commenced to preach the Kooka Doctrines ; that he remained there several days, collected all the Kookas of neighbourhood, made some converts and proclaimed the following orders of Ram Singh *viz.* first that women who had received the "Amrit" (Sikh baptism) should not wear their hair in a top knot ; *Chunde-di-gutt*, Secondly that they should wear "Jangias" or Short trousers under their petticoats, thirdly that all disciples whether male or females, ought at once to liquidate and adjust their accounts and debts and for future neither borrow nor lend. fourthly that they should not build any houses until further orders, but keep cash in their possession, fifthly that Guru Sahib (Ram Singh) had given notice that Mahunt Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh (his wazeers) who had been deputed to Nepal, had been received with great honour and favour, by the Rajah of Nepal, who had at their request provided a "grunth" and a "grunthee" or reader and expounder of the 'grunth' for the spiritual instruction of the Sikh soldiers in the Nepal service and the result was that most of the said sikhs had become 'Kookas' that the Maharajah of Nepal had sent a proprietary offering of a pearl necklace, a horse, Rupees 5000 in cash and a lot of other small articles to Gooroo Ram Singh, with an intimation that he held the Gooroo in great reverence and regard ; finally the "Baba" (Brahma Singh) referred to the murder of the butchers at Umritsar as commendable action in consonance with the Sikh faith. Secondly in respect to the 'Jangias which women are ordered to wear, the motive is that their modesty may not be outraged, as in the war women will take an active part in the proportion of one woman to every two men, and many will become martyres.

"The days for the fulfilment of our prophecies and the restoration of the Raj (Government) of the "Khalsa" are close at hand. Be ready and faithful".

In reference to these reports, I wrote to Colonel Staples, on 19th July that Brahma Singh had, I believed used rather seditious language in this District, that he had returned to Gulloty near Duska in the Sealkote District ; that I thought it right to warn Colonel Staples of this, and that the Kookas, as a body meant mischief. At the same time I asked Colonel Staples to have Brahma Singh's and Jotha Singh's movements quietly watched and to let me know when either of them came in this direction.

In my confidential report of the 22nd July, I noted, arrangements made for watching Brahma Singh, and my conviction that the Kookas meant mischief, and also my belief that there was general and decided impression among them that the period for restoration of Sikh Supremacy in the Punjab was close at hand.

In report of 5th August, I intimated that Brahma Singh had been moving about a good deal ; that he went for day or two to Duska, in the Sealkote District, and from thence to Choohar kana and Varun in the "bar" portion of the Shekhoo-pura and Khangah jurisdictions ; that he had become cautious ; that two messengers from Bhaini had passed through on their way back from Rawal Pindi and Peshawar, travelling rapidly by ekka.

In report of 19th August, I described a visit I received from Brahma Singh, in which he told me he was native of a village (Rolana) near Kythul in the Umballa District, and of all the good he had done in the way of reducing marriage expenses, and reforming the morals of his co-religionists but pretended not having even heard of the butcher murders, although the matter was of such notoriety as to be known to every villager.

In report of 26th August, I expressed popular belief that great efforts were being made by Ram Singh and his Soobas to increase the number of converts and get up a religious revival

among the Kookas, numbers of whom had gone, divested of their distinctive dress, to Umritsar to watch the result of the Kooka trials.

On 2nd Sept. I reported a gathering of the Kookas at Guddanwala in the Kamoky jurisdiction of this district, the advent of Brahma Singa there, the expected arrival of Jotha Singh and Jumeyut Singh Soobas; that the ostensible reason assigned for the assembly was a marriage that from Guddanwala the Soobas purposed going to Choocharkana, where the same reason of a marriage was assigned, that it was noted that the Kookas seemed excited and anxious; that messengers had been sent to Ram Singh at Bhainee, that Brahma Singh's and Jotha Singh's wandering had a tendency to excite and disturb the minds of the Kookas; and that I did not think Brahma Singh was well disposed towards Government.

In report of 19th Sept. I described further movements and doings of Brahma Singh, Jotha Singh, Jumeyut Singh, and C., a religious assemblage at Guddunwalla and Choocharkana; and that the Soobas in their addresses their to disciples exhorted them to remain firm in their faith and religious practices and observances.

On 23rd of September I reported Brahma Singh's movements from Choorkhana in the "Bar" to Saharan Chatta near Akalgurh from thence to Bynka Cheema near Wazeerabad, then to Toonda Guru in the Bar near Khangah, and the various assemblies of Kooka at those places, also that Rajah Singh, Soobha of Tarandi in the Sealkote District had come to Jubber, intending to go on to Guddunwalla where he proposed to hold a religious meeting and then observed that the Kooka Soobas seemed unusually active of late and whether we attributed this to their desire to establish religious revival, or to political intrigues carried on under the cloak of religion, the fact was equally remarkable.

On the 7th Oct. I reported the breaking up of two Kooka Companies in the Jammoo Service,<sup>1</sup> and on the 21st, that Brahma Singh had gone towards Jummo. From this time, I lost sight of Brahma Singh and was under the impression that

he had returned from Jummo to his usual residence at Chuk Rehana in the Sealkot District, where rumour said he had an intrigue with the Kooka woman in whose house he lived. I do not know when he left for Bhainee, and received no intimation of his departure from the Sealkote District although when his arrest was ordered I ascertained that he had first left Chuk Rehana for Bhainee about a month before, and secretly returned a few days previous to the outbreak but only stayed a night and then went off again in haste leaving his horses and household goods behind. He did not however wander about this district subsequent to the month of September, and indeed he disliked and complained of the surveillance of the Police.

But I believe that he commenced his career as a Kooka Soobha in this District in 1865. I have however no knowledge of his doings for any period previous to July last, when his imputed preachings attracted my attention. His antecedents are altogether doubtful and the enclosed depositions indicate that he was at some pains to conceal his birth place and parentage from even his own followers and favourite personel attendants. It has therefore been surmised or suspected that he is perhaps one of the mutinous sepoys or sowars of 1857, who adopted a religious disguise in order to escape identification. At all events he said to be a good horseman and to have some knowledge of drill and military tactics,—accomplishments which are equally possessed by Ram Singh himself, and Soobah Luka Singh.

I donot pretend that positive evidence, word per word, of Brahma Singh's asserted seditious preachings at Vurun will be obtained ; but the enclosed depositions will, in general way, afford proof that he taught his disciples to believe and expect the early restoration of Sikh Supremacy and power in the person of their Gooroo Ram Singh, and that he did all in his power to make converts and spread the Kooka tenets, in short that he was a notorious as a propagandist.

(9) There are the following Soobahs still in the Sealkote District ; and of these Jotha Singh used sometimes to co-operate and work with Brahma Singh. Indeed Jotha Singh's nomination the to office of Soobah is said to be of older date than Brahma

Singh's ; but the latter, being of more energetic character, and in greater favour with Ram Singh appears to have somewhat superseded the former :—

1. Jotha Singh, resident of Dehpye, Thana Pusroor, Zillah Sealkote.
2. Jumeyut Singh, of Gilwalla, Thana Pusroor, Zillah Sealkote.
3. Rajah Singh of Trandi, Thana Meanee, Zillah Sealkote.
5. Goorchuran Singh, of Chek Ram Das, Thana Sattrra, Zillah Sealkote.

And the two men named below are "Mahunts" or priests, in subordination to these Soobas, viz. :

1. Goolab Singh, carpenter of Bubber, Thana Kamoky, Zillah Goojranwalla.
2. Bolaka Singh, Jat, Zemindar of Varrun, Thana Shekhopura, Zillah, Goojranwalla.

### **Depositions of respectable persons**

1. Statement of Dya Singh, [son of Dul Singh, caste Jat Varrun, Head Lumberdar of Vurrun, Thana Shekhopura :—

"Kookas live in my village. Brahma Singh, Kooka Sooba, came several times to my village. I have seen him and know him. At religious assemblies and at marriages he used to tell all persons to become Kookas, or they would be sorry for it hereafter ; that the "Raj" (Government) of the "Khalsas" (Sikh) was soon to come. He used to visit the villages of Ogund Guddanwalla, Jhubber, Kurcal, Moodar, Shamsha ; and he converted several women, too, and made them wear "Jangias" (Short drawers), telling them that they were to become martyrs

and ought to be so dressed, that there persons may not be exposed. Brahma Singh is the first man who made Kookas in my village, and it was his teachings which led to the conversion of the Kookas in it. Two years after Brahma Singh's first visit Baba Ram Singh came to my village. Jotha Singh made Kookas also. Brahma Singh first came about seven or eight years ago and since then used to come, from time to time, from the Sealkote District, and hold religious assemblies.

2. Shahbaz Khan, son of Azim Khan, caste Pathan, Baraitch, Head Lumberdar of Jhundiala Shere Khan, near Vurrun :—

"I know Brahma Singh, Kooka Sooba. Three years ago I heard that there was an assemblage of Kookas at Vurrun, and there was a great "tamasha" worth seeing. I and others went there. Gooroo Ram Singh was there. Brahma Singh was with him as his highest "Moosahib" or representative. Brahma Singh was preaching to crowd of about 500 persons, Kookas and others, and telling them to become Kookas. Ram Singh was silent, Brahma Singh was repeating that such a time would never come again. After this Brahma Singh several times visited Vurrun, Jhubber, Ogund, Moodar, Kureal, Gooddanwalla, Chooaharkana ; but I never went to see him again, although I used to hear that he was exerting himself to propagate Kookaism, and telling everyone to become Kookas, or they would be sorry for it ; that the Khalsa Raj (Government) was close at hand. I heard that after the butcher murders Brahma Singh came to Vurrun, and made women Kookas, and put 'jangias' on them, that he said to the women, you are to become martyrs, don't remain naked.

3. Heera Singh, son of Sowaya, caste Jat Verikh, Head Lumberdar of Jhubber :—

I know Sooba Brahma Singh of the Kookas, and have seen him. There are Kookas in my village. He came to my village, five or six times and attended assemblies. He used to say, "become Kookas, or you will be sorry for it. Whenever Brahma Singh came, five or six persons used to become Kookas. Religious assemblies used to be held at Ogund, Guddanwalla,



Bubber, Jhubbar, Vurrun, Choohor-Kana, Jhamke, Shamsha. and at all places Brahma Singh used to teach what I said before. He put jangias on the women.

4. Anokh Singh, son of Bal Singh. caste, Verikh jat, Zaildar of Choohurkhana "I was 10 years Police Zaildar. I know Brohma Singh Soobha. In jeth or Hor Sumbat 1928, June or July 1871, there was marriage in the family of Amreek Singh, Kooka of Choohurkhana and then Brahma Singh Soobha came. I also heard that he has initiated women and put the 'Kutch on them assigning as that it was the order, was lawful and prevented uncleanness and led to martyrdom.

5. Dyal Singh, son of Perdhan Singh, caste Muttoo Jat, Lumberdar of Bhaie Muttoo.

"In my village Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh Soobha used to come from the Sealkote District. They came three times Invariably their object was to convert. They have converted women, and put 'Jangias' on the latter, and in my own village three or four women became Kookas. The object of converting women was to keep them in the religion.

6. Havela Singh, son of Utter Singh, caste Dhoolloo Jat, Lumberdar of Kharra, "In my village theye are 8 Kookas. I have seen the Soobhas Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh. They used to come from Sealkote direction, remain a day or two, and urge people to become Kookas, as it would be beneficial to the latter. They used to strive to increase their Sect. The Kookas said that the Raj of the Gooroo Khalsa was coming, become Kookas or you will be sorry'. This was a common rumour. The Soobas initiated women.

7. Heera Singh son of Sobha Singh caste Verikh Jat of Shamsha—"I know Brahma Singh Soobha. In Kartik 1927 Sumbat (Oct. 1870) or about a year and half ago a meeting was held of Kookas, in the house of Tekh Singh, Putwaree of my village and than Brahma Singh came and remained two days, and made twenty converts about 100 Kookas assembled. Again in Jeth Sumbat 1928 (June and July 1871) he came to the marriage of Juggut Singh's daughters'. Two hundred or



two hundred and fifty Kookas assembled. At that time too he used to say the same. The boy who was to married was not a Kooka and Brahma Singh said that he should not get the girl married to him, unless he became a Kooka, and then initiated him. Besides my village, Brahma Singh used to come to Varrun, Jhubber, Guddanwalla, Bubber, Ogund, Moodar, Kureal ; and I heard that he told all people to become Kookas. It was about this time that I heard Brahma Singh had made Kookas of women at Vurrun and ordered them to wear the "Kutch". This too, I heard from Tekh Singh, Putwarree, and that Brahma Singh told the women that they were to obtain martyrdom, and should not remain naked.

11. Nihal Singh son of Tekh Singh, caste Jat Verikh, Lumberdar of Kureal. This man is believed to be a Kooka himself. "In my village there are the following Kookas viz ;—

1. Gurdit Singh, Jat Verikh,
2. Chutter Singh, Jat Verikh.
3. Jeewan Singh, Zargar, Bhai Dharmsalia.
4. Heera Singh Khuttree.

They were initiated by Brahma Singh Soobha four or five years ago at Jhubber and Guddanwalla. About two years ago I saw Jotha Singh at Gujranwalla in the Havalee of the late Sirdar Hurree Singh Nulwa, at the marriage of the daughter of the Bhaie Lehna Singh Girjakhia, this man is the late Sirdar Hurree Singh's son-in-law and is called indifferently Sirdar on account of his connection with the Nulwa family and Bhae in consequence of his religious tendencies) and also going to Dharmsal Thattiaran and he was putting up with Lehna Singh in the above Havallee.

12. Tilokh Singh son of Utter Singh, cast Jat Verikh, Zaildar of Kaloke have never seen Brahma Singh Soobha. At Varrun, two Koss distant from my village he used to come to meetings and marriages from the Sealkote direction, and urge people to become Kookas, or they would be sorry as the Gooroo Khalsa Raj was close at hand. He made some women of Varrun Kookas and put the 'Kutch' on them. Whenever

he came he converted 5 or 6 persons and Jotha Singh accompanied him also.

13. Brahma Singh invariably came when there were religious assemblies or marriages among the Kookas and that he had then made women Kookas, and put the 'Kutch' (Short drawers) on them.

14. Dhoonee Chund, son of Kunhyalal, caste Khuttree, Naeb Canoongoe of Shekoopura—"I used to go on inspection duty to the villages of Jubber, Varrun, Choochurkana & c, and used to hear the Kookas talking that some day the "Raj" of the Khalsa Sahib would come; and the order of God; in this respect, was near fulfilment.

15. Goordit Singh son of Tukht Singh, Zaildar of Mirza :—He (Brahma Singh) was a visitor and held religious assemblies and attended Kooka marriages. It was notorious that he used to say 'now is the time become Kookas, and those who do not, will be sorry, as in two and a half months the Raj (Government) of the Gooroo Khalsa is to come. About the same time he made Kookas of women at Vurrun.

19. Munsa Singh Kooka, son of Dewan Singh, caste Zarger of Muttoo ;—Six years ago at Saensra, near Gujranwalla, I was converted by Soobha Jotha Singh and then remained with him, as his personal attendant, for two and a half years. Jotha Singh by caste a Kumhar, and resident of Dhappye, in the Sealkote District; he remained mostly in that District, but used to come on tours in this District, and attend wedding and persuade people to become Kookas; he was bent on increasing the Punth (Sect). After this for one and a half years, I was Brahma Singh's Khidmatgar or personal attendant. He is a jat, but I do not know his parentage and native place, nor did I ever ask him. He was, however formerly an Oadassi Nanga Fakeer and a Muhant or Priest in that Sect, and belonged to the Dehra Brahma Boot Fakeer of Umritsar, which is at the eastern corner of the Umritsar Temple. Ten or twelve years ago, Brahma Singh was initiated at Huzroh by Baba Baluk Dass who made him over to Gooroo Ram Singh and told him to work for a living and to devote the proceeds of

his labour to charity. So at Sealkote, near the Gharbi Talao, Brahma Singh used to live by grinding grain, he remained there one year and then Baba Ram Singh made him a Mahunt and Soobha, he lived mosily after this at Chuk Rehnu, Thana Dharmkote, Zillah Sealkote, with one Mussamut Bhagan, a Kooka woman of the jat tribe, and sometimes he stayed at Oogoo Chuk and Gilwala in the Sealkote District, in which he made tours. From the Sealkote District he used to come on occasional tours to the Gujranwalla District to attend weddings and religious meetings, Both the Soobhas (Jotha Singh and Brahma Singh), when they came on the Gujranwalla side, used to put up with the following persons *viz*—

1. At Muttoo, with me and Shurrum Singh.
2. At Ogund, I forget our host's name.
3. At Kharra with Gunda Singh, Zemindar.
4. At Guddanwalla, with Jewan Singh, Mallee Jat.
5. At Easurkeh, with the Jat Zemindars.
6. At Moodar with Sawun Singh.
7. At Choohurkana. with Amreck Singh, Jat Verikh.
8. At Bubber, with Goolab Singh Carpenter.
9. At Jhubber, with Gunda Singh.
10. At Chuck Hindoo, with Utter Singh Lumberdar.
11. At Saensra, with Share Singh Arora.
12. At Byuka Gheema. Doe'nt recollect.
13. At Saharun Chultha with Utter Singh and Goolab Singh, Lumberdars.
14. At Dhumeh Seræ, with Suddha Singh and Sadhu Singh.
15. At Goojranwalla with Bhae or Sirdar Lehna Singh Girjhakia (son-in-law of the late Sirdar Hurree Singh Nulwa).
16. At Killa Dedar Singh with Kahn Singh and Mohur Singh, Lumberdars.

17. At Jhamke. Do not recollect.
18. At Shamsha, with Tekh Singh Putwaree.
19. At Kamoky, with Jodh Singh, Carpenter.
20. At Varrun, with Boolaka Singh, Jat.
21. At Ruttalee, with Hem Singh, Zargar.
22. At Manes, with Goormukh Singh Arora.
22. A. At Rajah, with Bhola Singh, Koomhar.
22. B. At ThataManuk, with Boolaka Singh, Turkhan.
23. At Murree Bhindran, with a woman, can't recollect her name.
24. At Bowreh with ditto ditto.
25. At Khurrk, with Cheyt Singh, Jat.
26. At Mulkeh, wsth Baba Veyd.
27. At Landeh, with Bhay Singh, Mihra.
28. At Odeh, with Bhugwan Singh Putwaree.
29. At Manawalla + with Sardar Heera Singh Man, and Rae Man Singh Man.
30. At Moghul Chuk, with ditto, ditto.
31. At Chuhul, with a Carpenter Sikh. Forget his name.
32. At Kot Paroshah, with a Khuttree. Do not recollect his name
33. At Thebal, with Shurrum Singh, Jat.
34. At Dhilloke, with Maan Singh Nihung, Arora.
35. At Veanneekkee, with Futteh Singh, Zargar.

At following places I forget the names of our hosts :—

1. Lallehpoor.
2. Buddo Rutta.
3. Saleh Poor.

4. Hurpoke.
5. Noorpoor.
6. Nokhur.
7. Kot Bhowanee Das.

In all these villages there were religious assemblies from time to time, and both the Soobhas (Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh) used to attend there and preach the Kooka doctrines and urge the people to be converted to them.

“After this, I left Brahma Singh and wandered about as a Fakeer. When the row occurred recently at Bhainee, I was there, and employed as one of Gooroo Ram Singh’s cooks. The Gooroo Ram Singh Sahib and the following Soobhas were arrested and sent to Piragh (Allahabad), viz.,

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Baba Lukka Singh.    |  |
| 2. Kahn Singh.          |  |
| 3. Sahib Singh.         |  |
| 4. Hookma Singh.        |  |
| 5. Arur Singh.          |  |
| 6. Sirdar Mungal Singh. |  |
| 7. Baba Brahma Singh.   |  |
| 8. Baba Gopal Singh.    | } The were released after one or<br>2 days. (Compiler) |
| 9. Baba Khazan Singh.   |  |
| 10. Baba Jog Singh.     |  |
| 11. Baba Jowahir Singh. |  |
| 12. Baba Pahara Singh.  |  |

I and some other Kookas were arrested while trying to cross the Phillour ferry, and confined for eleven days in the fort of Phillour, from whence we were eventually released and came home. In this Ilaqua there are following Mahunts (Priests) :—

1. Goolab Singh Carpenter of Bubber.
2. Boolaka Singh, Jat of Varrun with authority to marry, & c.

In Sealkote District, these are the Soobas :—

1. Rajah Singh of Trandi, Thannah Meanee.
2. Jotha Singh of Dhapye, Thannah Pasroor.
3. Jumeyut Singh of Gilwalla.
4. "Goorchurrin Singh, of Chuk Ram Dass, Thannah Sattria, Zillah Sealkote ;—The first two are propagandists. When we went to Amritsar we used to stay with Bhac Aroor Singh Tarkhan Soobha of Umritsar.

20. Tekh Singh Kooka, son of Futteh Singh, caste Arora, Putwarree of Shamsha. "Four years ago I was initiated at Suntpoora near Shamsha by Soobha Jotha Singh. Brahma Singh Soobha was present at the time, and confirmed the initiation. The true Gooroo is certainly Baba Ram Singh, of Bhainee. I do't know Brahma Singh's parentage and native place. Some people said he was a Jat Zemindar, others that he was a Brahmin. I asked him about his home, he said he had none. Jotha Singh by caste a Koomhar, and lives at Dhappye in the Sealkote District, he always lived there and came here on occasional tours. Jumeyut Singh of Gillan-wall, Zillah Sealkote is also a Soobha, so is Rajah Singh of Trandi in the same District. These two, Brahma Singh, Jotha Singh were the Soobhas of the Sealkote and Gujranwalla Districts, but all lived the former District and came on tours to the latter. All are propagandists except Jumeyut Singh. Following are Muhants (Priests) and can marry, & c.

1. Boolaka Singh.
2. Goolab Singh.

But they do't convert people of Kookaism. I do't know the following Kookas but am aware that they exist viz—

1. Tekh Singh.
2. Jowahir Singh.
3. Narian Singh.
4. Soodh Singh.
5. Gopal Singh.

6. Lukka Singh.
7. Sahib Singh.
8. Futteh Singh.
6. Aroor Singh.  
Umritsar, Tarkhan.
10. Pahara Singh.

I do't know there residence and parentage or the Districts or jurisdictions held by them, Brahma Singh, Jotha Singh and Rajah Singh were always zealous propagandists, but not Jumeyut Singh. They never had any bad intentions or said anything amiss".

22. Sharrum Singh, Kooka, son of Utter Singh Caste Zargar, of Bhae Muttou :—I have been a Kooka two years, was initiated at Gunhdenwall by Soobha Jotha Singh, and never was shipped Gooroo Ram Singh since my initiation, so went to Bhainee just before the disturbance was; at Bhainee four or five days when the row took place. Was arrested and confined for eleven days in the fort of Phillour. Of the Soobhas who were arrested then, I only know Brahma Singh, who used to live at Chuk Rehnan, Zillah Sealkote with Mussumut Bhagwan Kooke and some times at Gilwala in the same District. In this District the Soobas Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh used to come on visits of pleasure and to look after the Kookas. I have been a Kooka, and dont know much ; but Brahm Singh and Jotha Singh were zealous propagandists.

23. Inspector Fuzul Kadir Khan, son of Mahmood Khan caste Pathan native of Hoti Murdan Pergunnah Yus-ufzye, Zillah Peshawar, states—In June 1871 I came on inspection duty to Shekhoopura. The Umritsar murders had occurred. Inquiries were going on. At Shekhoopara, Choorhukana, Vurrun since short time religious assemblies were being hold in which during his preachings, Brahma Singh told the Kookas what ever "firmans" (mandates) the Goor Sahib had given or predicted, their fulfilment was at close hand, and some had occurred, others were about to occur ; that at Umritsar the sin of cow-killing had continued, and in the night an assemblage of Gooroo Ram Singh Sahib's

martyrs had appeared supernaturally, and punished the butchers in at slaughter yard, where they were sleeping ; that the proof of their supernatural origin was this, that tracks of men and horses were found in the slaughter yard, but not out of it ; that supernatural forces helped "the Suth Gooroo" ; that "Namdharis" (Kookas) ought to be firm in their belief and convictions ; that whoever was initiated now, this was the time ; afterwards, they would not be received and would be sorry, that women who had been initiated should wear no jewels or ornaments nor dress their hair in top knots ; (chunda fashion as practiced in these days) and wear the "Kutch" or short drawers, for the period for martyrdom was close at hand, and women would become martyrs also, and thus escape exposure of their persons when they were suffering martyrdom ; that purchasing and selling land and building should be stopped, and no money thus expended, for it would be required ; that in a short time, in other place, where the sin of cow-killing continued, the sinners would be fully punished by the Gooroo's martyrs, that in the disturbances to come, the "Suth Gooroo's" prestige would increase for "Fakeeree and Raj"—(religious profession combined with secular power) was his destiny, that whoever come to Brahma Singh (i.e., the Kooka Sect) would receive rest, and those who did not would regret ; that in Sumbut 1928, the weapons of the "Namdharis" would be clubs and axes or hatchets and in Sumbut 1929, all weapons of war would be given to them, and they would want for nothing, that once there would be disturbances in various places, the Kookas should remain steadfast, for that severe time would soon pass-away, and under every tree "Akai" would be shouted. This news I reported to the District Superintendent of Police. Brahma Singh Soobha and Jotha Singh Sooba were appointed by Baba Ram Singh to the charge of the Sealkote and Goojranwall Districts in 1865, the latter in subordination to the former, but both have from the beginning, been propagandists in both Districts. Jotha Singh is by caste a "Kumhar" (potter) and belongs to the village of Dhappye in the Sealkote District.

Brahma Singh's native place and parentage is not known to me. In some places he gave out that he was a Brahmin, at others a Jat Zemindar, but he lived with Mussumut Bhagan



Kookee, a woman of Chuck Rehan, Thanna Dharm Kote, Zillah Sealkote, and sometimes he stayed at Chuk Hindoo and Sungree in Zillah Sealkote, but mostly at Chuk Rehan. He came on tours in this district, some times alone, at other time accompanied by Jotha Singh. In following villages they had religious assemblies, viz—

1. Hindoo Chuk.....Thanna Gujranwalla
2. Seensra ,, ..... ,, ,,
3. Goojranwalla.....Khas
4. Bynka Cheema .....Thanna Nagurabad.
5. Ruttalee.
6. Dhameh Serai.
7. Muttoo Bhae Keh.
8. Kamoky Khas.
9. Rajah.
10. Manes.
11. Bubber.
12. Guddanwalla.
13. Thutteh Manuk.
14. Kureal.
15. Mulkeh.
16. Khurra.
17. Hurpoke.
18. Kote Bhowani Dass .....Thana Gujranwalla.
19. Killa Dedar Singh.....Thannah Buddoky.
20. Shamsha.
21. Varrun.
22. Jhubber.
- 22½. Moodar.
23. Jhumekh.
24. Saharun Chatta.....Thana Akalgarh.
25. Va-eerakh..... ,,
26. Oogund.
27. Toondeh Grooroo.
28. Choohurkana.
29. Vuneekee .....Thannah Hafizabad.

} Thana Kamoky.

} Thana Kamoky.

} Thannah Shekaoopora.

} Thana Khanga.

And also in some other small villages. Since 1863 I was aware that the Kooka Sect had bad intentions, and the state of affairs described at Varrun. I heard from (Name purposely omitted) and Amreek Singh Kooka of Choohurkana, Dya Singh Lumberdar of Vurrun, Heera Singh Lumbardar of Jubber, Gobindha Brahmin, Chowkeedar of Serej Jhubber, Shahbal Khan Lumberdar of Jhandhiala Shere Khan, Heera Singh putteedar of Shamsha, Kirpa Ram Brahmin of Kureal, Kalu Singh Lumberdar of Kot Runjeet Uttesa putteedar of Guddanwalla. Besides them I cannot recollect now word for word what I reported at the time, but the real motive of the preachings tended to disturbances. At Varrun, Jhubber, and other adjacent villages Brahma Singh made about 30 converts, both men and women.

26. Goolab son of Mahomed Sahib, Lumbardar of Bootala Sham Singh,—In my village there are three kookas. None of the Soobas stayed in my village. Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh Soobas used to pass through my village on their way from the Sealkote District and they generally had 40 or 50 followers with them. Once Gooroo Ram Singh passed also, accompanied by a great crowd. The Soobas Brahma Singh and Jotha Singh were in the habit of urging all persons, whether Hindoo or Mohomadans to become Kookas.

28. Havulee, son of Hukoom Chund caste Goorya, Jat, Lumbardar of Chuk Hindoo. There are six or seven Kookas (men) in my village. Brahma Singh visited my village often. Jotha Singh Soobha first converted my brother Lumberdar Utter Singh, then Brahma Singh followed and made other conversions. Gooroo Ram Singh came once. Brahma Singh also converted four or five women, put 'Jangias' (or the Kutch) on them, and openly said 'I will not eat food cooked by women who are not Kookos'. Both Soobas made exertions to increase the number of their sect".

29. Nehal Singh, son of Chunda Singh, caste Goorya, Jat Lumberdar of Saensra :—There are thirteen Kookas (males) and five or six female Kookas in my village. Sooba Jota Singh of Dhappye in the Sealkote District made the first conversion in my village.

31. Bussant Singh, son of Sirdar Futteh Singh Man, caste Man, Jat of Mugul Chuk :—"My father is the Honorary Magistrate of Goojranwalla and revenue 'Zaildar' of Tappa Mogul Chuk. I act as my father's revenue agent and in visiting his 'zail' know that there are Kookas at Kot Paro Shah, Man, Heera Mogul, Chuk. My relative Sirdar Heera Singh Man and Rae Singh Man are also Kookas. They live at Manawalla, Thanna Meanee, Zilah Sealkote, but having lands in Mughol Chuk, they often come to my village also. No religious meeting of Kookas ever took place in my village, but on the death of Mahtab Singh Kooka, brother of Bhag Singh Constable, Kookas assembled at my village, and rejoiced at his death. Sirdar Heera Singh was then present in the village. Sirdar Heera Singh and Gooroo Ram Singh were good friends.

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## Police Department Ferozepore District

Particulars regarding the under-mentioned Kooka Soobas who were lately deported to Allahabad

Serial No.	Name	Percentage	Residence			Profession or calling	Circle of Division usually in his charge as a Sooba	Character and influence as a Sooba.	Name of known respectable persons who will vouch to the notoriety of these men and to the fact stated	General remarks and additional Particular not provided for in columns 3 to 10 of this statement
			Village	Thanna	District					
1	Sahib Singh	...	Durgapore	Turn Tarun	Umritsar	Grunthee	Sooba of Durgapore, Umritsar	A noted Sooba.	Mehtab Singh Lumberdar of Boorj Humera Ram Singh Dyal Singh; and Goolab Singh Lumberdar of Saidokey	Particulars of this man can be obtained better at Umritsar.
2	Roor Singh	Do	Do	...	...	Carpenter	Incharge of Umritsar	Do	Gulab Singh & Ram Singh Lumberdar of Saidokey Kakela Lumberdar of Tulwandeec. Ilaqua Puttiala	...
3	Kahn Singh Nihang	...	Chuk	Mullair Kotla	Kotla	Fuqueer	Incharge of the whole of Malair Kotla	Do	Do	Particulars to be obtained from Malair Kotla

4	Lukka Singh	...	bepata	...	...	...	...	...	...	Not known here
5	Brahma Singh	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Do	
6	Jawahir Singh	...	Bilas-pore	Bagah poorana	Ferozepur	Cultivator	Ilaqua Thanna Nuthuna Bagah poorana Chowkee Nihal Singh Walla, Fur reedkote	A head Sooba of the District and of great influence	Kurram Singh Lumberdar Belaspore, Gooroodit Singh Lumberdar of Lohara, Noop Singh and Bhoom Singh Lumberdars of Takhtopoor	This man was a notorious leader and maker of Kookas and had great influence not only here but in other districts of Punjab A dangerous character
7	Mullook Singh	Sookhn Singa	Phulewala	Ferozepur	Ferozepur	Cultivator	Was in charge of Mukutsir Fazilka.	A noted Sooba at one time latterly not much thought of	Goolab Singh, Kurram Singh Dyal Singh, Lumberdars of Saidokey, and Kakela, Lumberdar of Tullwande, Puttiala	Was engaged in riots that took place in this District in 1869, when a party of Police was sent out to arrest some 44 Kookas
8	Man Singh	Mukhan Singh	Said okey	Bagah Poorana	...	Fuqucer	Had charge of Saidker as Sooba.	A bad character and notorious Kooka of great influence	A man of influence among Kookas, and a dangerous Kooka	Was a notorious wellwisher of Kooka cause; was present at Maloth and Mullair Kotla in out break there in January 1872; came back after it is village.

Serial No.	Name	Parentage	Residence			Profession or calling	Circle or Division usually in his charge as a Sooba	Character and influence as a sooba.	Names of known respectable person who will vouch to the notoriety of these men and to the fact stated	General remarks and additional particular not provided for in columns 3 to 10 of this statement
			Village	Thanna	District					
9	Hookma Singh	...	Pithoo	Bhikhe	Puttiala	Mohunt	Incharge of Puthoo and Puttiala.	Sooba	Dyal Singh, Goolab Singh and Ram Singh of Saidokey.	This man was always with Ram Singh
10	Pahara Singh	...	Mooludh	Dehlon	Loodiana	Fuqueer	Incharge of no particular District, but collected information for Ram Singh	Noted Sooba	The above Lumberdar also Kakela of Tulwandee	Parentage to be got from Loodiana
11	Sirdar Mungul Singh of Riapore	...	Raipore	Do	Do	Servant	No particular circle.	Noted Kooka	Do	Relative of Raja of Patiala made over all his property to Ram Singh

Ferozepore  
the 30th March, 1872.

R. H. Wall Major  
District Superintendent  
of Police

**(Confidential)**

*No. 98, dated the 20th March 1872*

*Memo. from*

Major H.R. Wall,  
District Superintendent of Police,  
Ferozepore.

*To*

Colonel Hutchinson, C.S.I.,  
Inspector General of Police,  
Punjab.

Forwards herewith copy of histories of three Kooka Soobhas of this district, sent to Allahabad as below :—

1st :—Mann Singh.

2nd :—Jowahir Singh.

3rd :—Mullook Singh.

Mann Singh, Sooba, Village Saidokey.

Thana Phag~~po~~oorana

1st :—Was born in Saydoke.

2nd :—Lives there.

3rd :—Used to cultivate, and turned Faqeer. He had his family living with him in Saydoke ; they were not kookas, and he was not wealthy.

4th :—He was for years making kookas.

5th :—He made them from all caste by permission from Ram Singh and attended all fairs and gathering of the people in the district.

6th :—He was a professed kooka.

7th :—Never was on police books for any crime, attended fair regularly and all assemblages of kookas.

8th :—Never was required to give security in any case.

9th :—He was constantly going to and back from Ram Singh. He sold his land and jewels some months ago, and was a notorious propagandist and of great influence.

10th :—Lumberdars Jowahir Singh Soomad Bhaie ; Ruttun Singh Nehal Singh, Wala ; Ram Singh Saydoke ; Dyal Singh Saydoke ; Suda Singh Sham Singh, Bhagwan Singh Budnee ; Goormukh Singh Kotla, testify to the above.

R.H. Wall, Major,

*The 19th March, 1872*

District Superintendent  
of Police, Ferozepore.

Jowahir Singh, Sooba.

1st :—Has been living in this district for 45 years at Bilaspore village, Thana Bhagapoorana.

2nd :—He was born at Soheli in Turn Tarn Umritsur, and from Soheli first went to Lopo in Bhagapoorana, and then to Bilaspore.

3rd :—He is not a family man and is not wealthy.

4th :—From his youth he has been a Faqueer of the Neer—Mullah caste ; he has made numbers of disciples to the Kooka faith.

5th :—The men from whom he has made converts are zemindars, chumars, carpenters, muzbees, dhoobees, Mussulmans. Some 400 men were made kookas by him, and he attends fairs, & c., regularly.

6th :—He makes no concealment of religion and is a most active propagandist.

7th :—He has never been brought up in any police case.



8th :—He has never been placed on security.

9th :—He goes constantly back and forward to Bhainee to Ram Singh.

Jowahir Singh Lumberdar son of Soomad Bhaie ; Ruttun Singh Lumberdar Nehalsinghwalla, Dharm Singh Lumberdar Belaspore ; Narain Singh, Lumberdar, Macheekey ; Buddun Singh Lumberdar, Belaspore, Suba Singh Lumberdar, Burra Ghull ; Bugwan Singh Budnee, testify to the above.

R.H. Wall, Major,

*The 19th March, 1872*

District Superintendent  
of Police, Ferozepore.

Mullook Singh, Sooba, son of Sikhun Singh, profession cultivator, of the village Phoolawalla. Thana Mookutsur, District Ferozepore.

1st :—Has been 40 years in this district, came from Abloo (where he was born) in Furredkote.

2nd :—He has been living at Phoolawall in Thana Mookutsur.

3rd :—He had his family and goods and cattle with him, seven months ago, he took all his family with him to the canal in Rooper and made over his land to his brothers Sullook Singh, Bhoop Singh, Shere Singh.

4th :—He used to prophesy and tell fortunes, but was not in the habit of making kooka himself. He used however to collect men and bring them to Ram Singh to be made kookas. He was of great influence amongst them.

5th :—Jats and zemindars were the castes he used to get made kookas, and he was active in attending fairs and furthering the kooka cause.

6th :—He used to proclaim he was a kooka ; laterly he concealed the fact and said he was not.

7th :—His name is not on police books as a bad character in any case.

8th :—He never was placed on security.

9th :—He used to go back and forward to Ram Singh at intervals of six months.

10th :—Sujan Singh Lumberdar Mookutsur, Phoolewalla. Khezan Singh, Lumberdar, Oody Karn; Goormooke Singh Lumberdar, Roopana—Thana Mookutsur,—testify to the above.

R.H. Wall, Major,

*The 18th March, 1872*

District Superintendent  
of Police, Ferozepore.

### **Appendix B No. 12**

2 :—Karam Singh, of Belaspore, Ferozepore district, dated 7th April 1872 states that Jowahir Singh was a "Sooba". Before he embraced Kookaism he was a "zomindar".

The thanas Nathana, Bhagapuranah, Chowkee Nihal Singh Walla, and the "ryast" of Frickote were in his charge for the purpose of making converts; he was a head "Sooba" and all kookas served and obeyed him.

Karam Singh states that Mullook Singh\*, Kooka, was a cultivator before he embraced Kookaism; he had charge of Mukhtasar and Banglah Fazilkah; he used to make converts; his character should be equired into at Makhtasar.

### **Appendix B No. 13**

Statement of Zaildars and Lumberdars, Pergunnahs Phillour and Bohseer, Zillah Jullundur, on the subject of doings of Kooka.

We are not thoroughly acquainted with the histories of all the above Soobas, but know well that of Lukka Singh, because he was Ram Singh's Sooba in this Ilacqua, and in Sumbat 1918-19 he used to visit Mothudda, Dhoulta and Moron. He was resident of Malwa and was a bachelor; and it was also said that previously to Ram Singh's chela, he was employed in the Sher Dil Regiment afterwards in the Jullundur Police, Thana Bunga, entered as a constable, which he left to

become a Kooka. Ram Singh, considering him smart made him Sooba and he made many converts, and used to be present at all the fairs, and was always ready for a quarrel. On one occasion he went to attack the zamindars of Mookha, Ilaqua Phillour, was arrested with others for riot ; and a fine of Rs. 1,000/- imposed on the party by Mr. Saunders ; but he was released ; this occurred in June 1870. Lukka Singh was always with Ram Singh, and thought himself his Wazeer. He was constantly stirring up the people to become converts to the Kooka faith, as he said Ram Singh was about to become king and rule over the North, South, East and West and that the time of two and a half years, two and a half months, and two and a half days was still wanting ; those who would not turn, would regret it, and they would not be entertained even as grass-cutters. Fools were misled, and many thought that Government respect Ram Singh, as the Thandar and Tehsildar constantly attended him, and Lukka Singh used to say that the Europeans were aware that Ram Singh was born a prophet and would reign and convert the world. Without doubt, Lukka Singh behaved badly, destroying graves of Mahamedans, Hindoo temples, and committing other acts of destruction.

About four years ago, at the Nigah Fair, he was rife for mischief, broke the drum of those playing there ; took off the turbans of those who wore red ones, and about the same time he visited the Thala Mouzah Moron with 150 followers, and took off the red-turbans of those who wore them and almost created disturbance, five to seven men wer severely wounded ; he also took the daughters of the people by force and made them over to his followers. Before the riot case with the Mooka zamindars, he went with 25 followers from Motuda to capture the daughter of Mehung Singh, carpenter of Muzah Attee, Ilaqua Phillour. It was at the Ekasdhee time, when the Hindoos were taking mud from the tank, and on hearing of his advent, to save disgrace, went out in a body and defeated the party. Lukka Singh was severely hurt and fainted. His Kookas fled. He was always quarrelling and never was afraid, and to those who refused to join his creed he made the threat of giving their daughters to sweepers when Ram Singh became king. And as the king of Delhi had 22 Soobas, so has Ram Singh. A little while only remains for Bhace Ram Singh

to become king. For the last year he has taken one-tenth of the produce of the land from the Kookas, saying such is the custom of kings, and previous to outbreak at Loodhiana Lukka Sing came to Motunda and told the Kookas not to sow their wheat, as it would be trodden down by horses, the making of Bhaee Ram Singh king being near at hand.

Sahib Singh, No. 1 and Nahung Singh, No. 6, Sirdar Mungul Singh, No. 11, have two or three times visited this Illaqua, and stated that what Lukka Singh Sooba had notified to them was true and must be believed. Bhaee Ram Singh will become king; who ever adopts his faith will possess jageers, Seeing Sirdar Mungul Singh among them induced a number to become Kookas, as he was cousin of the Maharajah of Puttiala. The Soobas all worked to one end, and Bhaee Ram Singh was the root of the evil. He informed Government that he prohibited drunkenness, fornication, theft or lying; but to Soobas he secretly stated that he was to be made king, and this was also heard that iron was being purchased and it was intended to make up swords when occasion required by their own followers. They made friendship with the Maharajahs of Nepal Goorkha and Jummoo, and used to keep up correspondence. He sent 2 to 400 men under a Sirdar to Jummoo Chief, who retained them, but on hearing of the disturbance turned them out. Last year they sent two buffaloes and two mules by Sahib Singh and Nahung Singh with three Kidmuttgars to Maharajah Nepal, and the Maharajah allowed Sahib Singh and Nahung Singh Rupees 5 per diem during their stay and sent for Bhaee Ram Singh one horse and "doshalla". The fact is, Bhai Ram Singh proclaimed a great fraud, and if not now apprehended; there would assuredly have been a great disturbance, as the mind of the populace was upset and a war with Government would have resulted. We were all under the impression that the Government was aware of what was goings on, and by not apprehending the Kookas must have some reason for it, so we used to listen and remain quiet.

**DEWA SINGH**

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Nuggur, Pergunnah Phillour.

**SIRDAR JYMUL SINGH**

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Mouzah Thala, Pergunnah Phillour.

**HURNAM SINGH**

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Motunda, Pergunnah Phillour.

**WUZEER SINGH**

Lumberdar Mohroo, Pergunnah Phillour.

**BHUGWANA**

Lumberdar, Newaree, Pergunnah Phillour.

**JOWAHUR SINGH**

Lumberdar and Zaildar, Khan Khanan, Pergunnah Bohseer.

**MEAN HOOSHIAR SINGH**

Zaildar Mouzah Seikhpooora, Pergunnah Bohseer.

**JOALLA SINGH**

Son of Ram Singh, Zaildar, Boodhana, Pergunnah Bohseer.

**UMUR SINGH**

Son of Rajoo, Jat, Khewutdar, Motunda, Kulan,  
Pergunnah Phillour.

The 19th April 1872.

Deposition of Sirdar Yeajmul Singh, Lumberdar and Zail-  
dar of Thala, Station Phillour :—

I know most of the deported Soobas, but I know well Sooba Lukka Singh. He

Sahib Singh :	Jowahir Singh	was originally a police const-
Lukka Singh :	Mullook Singh	able, stationed at Thana
Roor Singh :	Man Singh	Bungah. In Sumbut 1918
Brahma Singh :	Hookma Singh	or 1919, he commenced to
Pahara Singh :	Sirdar Mungul Singh	visit Mathdee, Dholeta
Kahn Singh :		and Moron villages, he

succeeded in making many converts at the above villages; he used also to visit fairs; he was always in trouble. In 1870 he was arrested in riot case as ring leader, but was acquitted. He was also in trouble at Nigha fair for taking of "cheeras"\* (Red turbans). At Moran and Muthada he with about 150 followers did the same thing which caused a riot in which several people were injured.

Shortly before the outbreak at Loodhiana Lukka Singh came to Matudee and advised the zemindar not to sow their crops, as they could never reap it as Ram Singh's troops would tread it under feet when he had his fight with the Government which would be shortly. Sahib Singh, Mungal Singh and Kahn Singh also visited the ilaqua, and told them that it would come true, and that those that assisted Ram Singh would get jageers on the recommendation of the various Soubas. Lukka Singh talked seditiously, and the ignorant were led away by him, especially when they saw so much consideration paid him by Government officials, Tehsildars and Thanedars.

In the Court of the Magistrate of District Ludhiana.

Dated the 16th April, 1872.

The information and the deposition of Bhola son of Bughla Singh, taken on oath by me; C. Beedan Magistrate, this 16th day of April, 1872, who thus deposes—I am a Jat Sikh, resident of Kuttani Kullan Thana Saneh-wall, District Loodiana, age 55. I am Lumberdar of my village. My village lands adjoins those of Bhainee. I know the 11 Soobas—(1) Sahib Singh (2) Roor Singh (3) Lukka Singh (4) Khan Singh (5) Burma Singh (6) Jowahir Singh (7) Mullook Singh (8) Man Singh (9) Hukmma Singh (10) Pahara Singh and (11) Sirdar Mungal Singh. I know these men, by their names

and appearances these last 11 years. They had been appointed by the Gooroo Ram Singh to be Soobas or Lieutenants. Bhaee Ram Singh had intended ultimately to have 22 Soobas, corresponding to the Mughal dynasty. The duties imposed on these Soobas were to go about preaching Kookaism and making convert. The promises held out to them were that as soon Ram Singh reigns he would make his Soobas Governors. For instance I know that Sirdar Mungal Singh the 11th Sooba was promised Puttialla. I have the personal experience of the ways of the Soobas. They have tried very hard to induce me and my village to turn Kookas, first by promises and next by threats. The Soobas always described the ruling power as the "Doost" (bitter enemies) and the Kooka Gooroo, as an incarnation of the diety, specially sent to destroy it. They openly told people that Ram Singh and his Kookas would soon rule the country extending from Calcutta to Ghazni. They promised high offices and jagirs to those embracing Kookaism, and threatened severe punishments to those who refused to become Kookas. Further more they gave out that the conversion must take place forth with, otherwise at latter date they would be disqualified to join the religion and treat us enemies, their villages being destroyed and heavy land tax imposed on them.

In 1917 Sumbat Sirdar Mungal Singh, a relative, (brother-in-law's son) of the late Maharaja of Puttiala, became Kooka, and from that time Ram Singh's name and status rapidly increased. Mungal Singh presented Ram Singh with a mare (rupees 400) a kharas, a corn mill and sunk a well for him.

Ram Singh used to hold regular darbars, at which his 11 Soobas were invariably present. At these meetings it was calculated that the sect numbered 432000. The Soobas used regularly to introduce new converts, who received Ram Singh's blessings, and did "Bhajjan". After this his followers used to ask when the Kooka Raj would take place, the reply was generally "wait just a little". I have passed four lives on earth and died after each of them a religious and devout man—I have the gift of prophecy. In a little while the Khalsa Raj will occur.

Each of the 11 men mentioned above is a Sooba of Ram Singh and I know them all well. They one and all went about proselytising. All of them, except Sirdar Mungal Singh were present at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th of January, *i.e.*, at the Lohri Mela. Sirdar Mungal Singh had been detained in a case against him in Puttiala territory, in which it had been discovered that he had brought considerable plunder (Rs 300000) in' jewelry from relatives at Dhole-poor to carry on the disturbances at Bhainee. The whole ten of the Soobas at Bhainee were of one mind, and all, without exception urged on Heera and Lehna Singh of Sukrodee, to attack Malodh. But doubtless Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh and Pahara Singh were most vehement in their exhortation. There were about 180 Mastanas in the Mela, and 1000 or 1100 Kookas. I was present at the Lohri Mela myself, I only know of one party starting for Malodh and Malerkotla. I heard no mention of Butinda. There was no prohibition among the officials of Ram Singh's darbar against outsiders. Anyone was invited to come and sit in durbar and turn Kooka. I heard Sahib Singh applaud Heera Singh's sentiments and state that there are 13 or 14 European at hand to be got rid off. I am fully aware that Raikote and Umritsar murders were the result of the orders of Ram Singh and his Soobas. Ram Singh's orders were that cow-killing was not to be permitted within the Khalsa Raj.

I have no cause of enmity with Ram Singh and his followers or his Soobas.

I have been on terms of friendship with them. At this moment Kookas are looking forward to the release and rule of Ram Singh. Kookas declare that Ram Singh merely submits to his present confinement for martyrdom sake, and that he can release himself when he chooses. They assert that when Sirdar Mungal Singh returns all the other Soobas will be released also, and that the raj will follow.

The deposition of Ghamandeh taken on oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes.



I am Lumberdar of Bhainee. I know the \*11 Soobas mentioned to me. \*Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh and the others in They are all bad confinement. characters and their general business is to preach sedition and make converts to Kookaism on the plea that the Kooka raj is at hand.

I saw all these men except Sirdar Mungal Singh and Rur Singh and another\* at the last Maghee Mela. I heard nothing uttered there from their mouth, but \*name not known, at the well where Heera and Lehna Singh C.B. and their party were halted, I heard that the party was to proceed to Kotla to fight and take it. I saw Lukka Singh at this place. I know nothing else about the proceedings.

Of the 11 Soobas I consider Lukka Singh, Kahn Singh, Jowahir Singh, Mungal Singh, and Pahara Singh the worst. They are all dangerous and none ought to be released.

Taken this 19th April 1872, Translated and read over to witness and understood by him. Admitted by him to be correct.

The information and the deposition of Bela, taken upon oath by me, Cecil Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872 who deposes—I know the 11 Soobas.

In short I have heard generally a seditious conversation from the whole of Soobas. But all of them are more or less dangerous, and I should consider it most imprudent to let them or any of them be at large now or hereafter.

The information and deposition of Partab Singh, taken on oath by me C. Beadon, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes as follows—I am Lumberdar of Jundialla. Of 11\* Soobas mentioned to me I know 4 perfectly well, viz. Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh, Mungul Singh and Kan Singh. I know the others by repute, that they are Soobas of Ram Singh and are Kookas. At the "Maghee Mela" on the 12th or 13th, I was present, I saw Sahib Singh, Lukka Singh

and Kanh Singh there. Mungal Singh was not. Ram Singh had 10 or 11 men on his "Sutreenjee" (carpet)", three of these were the men I have named, and the rest were, I have no doubt, his Soobas, because Ram Singh permitted his Soobas usually to sit on carpet. I have often heard my four Sooba acquaintance proclaimed that there would be a Kooka raj, and those who became Kookas should be benefited with jageers and lands, and that in past Chait all this was to come to pass.

The statement of Daulat Ram, taken on oath by me, C. Beaden, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who says I am a Brahmin and Lumberdar of Bhainee. I know 8 of the 11 Soobas arrested. I have heard these 8 men generally preaching sedition.

The statement of Sukhoo taken on oath by me, Cecil Beaden, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes.....I am Lumberdar of Bhainee. I know the whole of the Soobas personally. I have been in the habit of attending Ram Singh's durbars, and had taken the Kooka pledge (bujjun). I have heard one and all of the Soobas preaching sedition.

All the Soobas were present at the last Maghee except Mungal Singh and Man Singh. I heard the conversation about Russia and England then in particular, but I have also heard it before. On the consultation it was agreed that if Russia did not of its own motion fight England, then Ram Singh was to apply to the Akhoond of Swat for help; that between Akhoond and the Kookas victory over the English was certain.

The information and deposition of Buswan Singh taken by me, C. Beaden, Magistrate of Loodiana, this 19th day of April 1872, who deposes on oath—I am Lumberdar Mouzah Narangwal. I consider that Ram Singh's Soobas are very dangerous men to be at large. They do nothing but make converts to Kookaism by means of reports to effect that Ram Singh will shortly reign in India, and that, when he does, his disciples will receive their rewards. This sort of doctrine has great effect on the simple minds of Jat Sikhs of this part of the country.

Sookhoo, son of Jowri, caste Jat, Lumberdar of Bhainee, swear by Ganges water and says : The day after the Lohri, *i.e.*, on Friday 12th, in the evening there was a select council in Ram Singh's Darbar. Some 30 or 40 men were present and the doors were shut. Ram Singh and 9 of the Soobas who have been deported were present, but Man Singh and Mungul Singh were not present; the latter because he was detained by the Maharajah at Puttiala. Soobas (1) Ootmee and (2) Lumbeyela Sardarni were sitting behind.

Ram Singh was asked to take his Raj he said that he would do so with the help of the Akhoond Sahib after the Russian and the English had fought and one was beaten.

When the Mustanas were starting all said they had got the Gooroo's orders.

### **District Hoshiarpur**

Deposition of Ram Singh, son of Cherat Singh Tarkhan of Chugran, aged 51 years, taken upon oath by me on the 18th day of April 1872, said—I am Biswadar in my village. I remember last year about Sawan-Bhadon. Krora Singh Lumberdar got up a "Bhog granth" at which about 150 Kukas (men and women) attended; also about 700 other people from the surrounding villages. Nihung Singh was present at the time. The Kookas openly told the people that in Sambat 1928 their rule would be established and they advised people to join them if they wanted to be well off.

Deposition of Lehna, son of Raman, Caste Mehton, of Chugran, aged 65 years taken upon oath by me on the 18th day of April 1872 said—I am Biswadar and have a fourth share in my village. I remember in Harr or Sawan last (June or July), Kurara Singh Korlea (Lumberdar) of my village, got up a "Bhog-granth". About 100 Kookas (men and women) attended it. They advised us all to turn Kookas as in 1928 Sambat the Kooka rule would be established and those who joined them would be well-off. Nihung Singh, that is, Baba Kahn Singh was present.

Deposition of Heera Singh, son of Dassondhi, Lumberdar of Chuck-Mallair, aged 40 years, caste Jat, taken upon oath by

me on the 12th day of April 1872 said—I was coming to Hoshiarpore in Asooj last and met Nihal Singh Kooka of Singhpore and asked him what this new faith was, and he said that Ram Singh was an incarnation of Gooroo Gobind, the tenth Badshah, and it would be well for those who believed this; and that in 1928 the Khalsa rule will begin. I told him he had neither arms, wealth nor aught else; what did he expect to do? On which he girded up his loins, swung his little axe (Salotra Singh) and said that the royal horses would run as he then careered before me, and the little axe would take all the guns & c; & c.

Deposition of Ganesha Singh, son of Jogin Rajput Lumberdar of Dangoo, taken upon oath by me on the 13th day of April 1872 said—I am Zillahdar of the Illaqua. Some two years ago that Bhugwan Singh and, I think Khushal Singh—the former of Kassahar, the latter of Ganhari—and Mohtab Singh of Ambota tried to convert me to Kookaism and asked me to join their Sooba.

I asked them to explain themselves but they said they could not do this; that it would be told me as it had been to them, so much they did say that their Gooroo Ram Singh had declared for the restoration of the Khalsa. I asked them what they could do without arms or aught else, and they said that the Gooroo had only to give the order, and the arms would be theirs. I told Mr. Perkins this one day at Paurain that I was afraid the sect was increasing, and might one day create a disturbance, but he told me they were harmless and truthful and some one had told me lies about them. Later than this I also told the District Superintendent of Police, when he was searching for information about female infanticide and he also gave me the same reply.

Mehtab Singh is a Tirkhan Lohar, and works as a brick layer: Khushal Singh is Bhati (Cultivator). Bhugwan Singh is a Rajput. They never came to me in a body, but travelled about, and when we met spoke in this way; they made no secret of it.

Deposition of Heera, son of Boota Singh Lumberdar of Bichoi, Rajput, age 30 years, taken upon oath by me on the

12th day of April 1872 said—I was coming from Guruhshankar eight months in Bhadon, and near Laila, Lukka Singh and five or six other Kookas were coming on to Malepure where the other lived. I only knew Futtch Singh of these and his house was in Malepure. They were talking and saying Bhai Ram Singh was a Guru as had been Gobind Singh, and that either in 1927 or 1928 he would ascend the throne at Lahore, and the Khalsa rule would begin.

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## DOCUMENT 13

### IKRARNAMAH OF NANOO SINGH

(The original Ikrarnamah is in Urdu language in Persian script. It is produced here in Roman script.)

Mein Nanoo Singh Punjab Ilaqa Patiala Gaon Roorkee ka rahnewala hal mukam Rangoon Jail yih iqrar karta hoon aur sanadnamah bhi likh deta hoon. Kiswaste to yih Jail mein apni khushi se razi-ora zamandi ke sath yahan rahoonga. Aur khidmat mein raja Sahib apne Guru ke hamrah bila uzr bataur kaid ke rahoonga. Kabhi koi bat ka uzr nahin karoonga aur jidhar yih Raja Sahib rahenge, udhar mein bhi rahoonga. Kabhi koi bat ka uzr karoon to batal hai. Is waste yih sanadnamah likh deta hoon. Lihaza sarkar ke kam ave.

Thumb Impression  
Nanoo Singh

March 1872

Signed by Nanoo Singh  
Sikh in my presence  
Sd.  
Officiating Supdt.

## DOCUMENT 14

*From*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma,  
*No. 192, 53 p. dated 15th April.*

Stating that it would appear that any correspondence between Ram Singh and his adherents in the Punjab must have been carried on before the Chief left for Calcutta.

*Remarks on the file in the Governor General's Office.*

Inform Chief Commissioner that "It will be well to intercept any correspondence which may pass between Ram Singh and his adherents in the Punjab, as useful information may be obtained thereby. "Mark" "Confidential".

H.W.W.  
R.C.B. 10-5-72.

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## DOCUMENT 15

British Burmah, No. 239/53 P.  
Political Department

*From*

CRAWFORD. B. COOKE ; Esq.  
Offg : Assistant Secretary to  
the Chief Commissioner,

*To*

E.C. BAYLEY, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Secretary to the Government  
of India Home Department.  
Dated 11th May, 1872.

Sir,

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward a list of books which Ram Singh the Kooka state prisoner has asked

for, and to request that if the Government of India sees no objection the books may be procured and forwarded to Rangoon for the prisoner's use.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Yours most obedient servant

Sd/- Crawford B. Cooke,

Offg : Assistant Secretary.

"The books required by Ram Singh". A large one  
*Containing Two Pothees :—*

AD PANJ GRUNTHE with (a) Japjee, (b) Baineer Rehras (c) Kirtan Sahla (d) ONKAR (e) not legible (f) Bawan Akhree (g) SUKHMANI (h) Asa-di-war (i) NAWEN GOOROO KE SHABAD AUR SHALOK.

The first Pothee should contain the above chapters and then it will be complete. There should be no mistakes. A manuscript copy and not a printed one is asked for.

2nd Pothee containing :

(a) Japjee (b) Akal Ushat (c) WAR (d) Chundee Charitar Sewaice (e) Bachittar Natak (f) Gyan Parbodh (g) (illegible) Sawuya.

These two Pothees may surely be obtained from the Gooroojee of the Sikh community if not in Calcutta very likely in Umritsur.

If these books are not available on price they may be searched and copied from the original and then sent to him positively.



**DOCUMENT 15 (A)**

Home 1875 Deptt. (Judicial)

Simla 17th June 1872.

*To*

The Secy. to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir,

With reference to the accompanying copy of a letter from the Chief Commissioner British Burmah No. 239/53 P, dated the 11th ultimo and enclosure, I am directed to enquire whether, the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor has any objection to the books therein asked for being supplied to Ram Singh, the Kooka state prisoner.

I have &c.,

Sd/-

Officiating Under Secretary.

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**DOCUMENT 15 (B)**

*From*

C.U. Rivaz Esquire

Offg : Under Secy. to Government, Punjab.

*To*

illegible

Offg : Secretary to Govt. of India,

Home Department.

Dated Simla 28th June 1872.

HOME

Sir,

In reply to your No. 1081 dated the 17th instant, the original enclosure which is herewith returned, I am directed

to state that there is no objection on the part of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor to Ram Singh being supplied with the books for which he has asked, except as regards the Bichitra Natak.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Yours most obedient servant

Signed

Offg : Under Secretary

Government Punjab.

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### **DOCUMENT 15 (C)**

*To*

The Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 2265, of the 28th ultimo, I am directed to request that, with the permission of the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor, you will be good enough to obtain and forward to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma the (vernacular lists forwarded 18/7) books asked for by Ram Singh except the Bichitra Natak.

I have the

Signed

13-7-72;

No. 1285

Copy forwarded to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah for information with reference to his accompanying letter No. 239/53P, dated 11 May last.

*Signed.*

---

**DOCUMENT 16**

No. 2S, dated Simla, the 21st May 1872.

*From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.  
Officiating Secretary to the  
Governor of the Punjab.

*To*

E.C. Bayley, Esq : C.S.I.,  
Secretary to the Government of India.

I am directed to call your attention to an error of fact in memorandum accompanying your letter No. 857 of 30th ultimo, on the subject of the Kooka execution.

2. The 16 prisoners executed by the Commissioner of Anibala at Malehr Kotla were blown from guns and not hanged.

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**DOCUMENT 16 (A)**

*Telegram dated the 6th June, 1872.*

*From*

Viceroy, Simla.

*To*

Secretary of State,  
London.

Despatch No. 28, dated 2nd May, and enclosures, regarding execution of Kookas, require correction. It has now for first time transpired that the 16 men executed by Mr. Forsyth's order were blown away from guns and not hanged. Letter by next mail.

No. 980 — copy by post.

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**DOCUMENT (16 B)***No. 34, dated Simla, the 10th June 1872.**From*

The Government of India.

*To*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

With reference to the telegram sent to your grace on the 6th instant, a copy of which accompanies the present despatch, we have the honor to forward, for your Grace's information, copies of the correspondence noted in the margin. Your Grace

1. From Secretary to Government,  
Punjab, No. 2S, dated 21st May 1872.

2. To Secretary to Government,  
Punjab, No. 1012, dated 10th June 1872.

will learn from these papers that we have now been informed for the first time that the 16 prisoners executed at Malehr Kotla

under the orders of Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Ambala, were blown from guns and not hanged, and that we have called for an explanation of the circumstances under which this important fact was not reported to the Government of India. On receipt of this explanation we shall communicate to Your Grace any further proceedings which we may think it necessary to take.

**DOCUMENT 16 (C)***No. 1012 dated Simla — The 10th June 1872.**From*

E.C. Bayley, Esq : C.S.I.

Secretary to the Government of India.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

*Dated 11th May 1872*

I am directed to reply to your letter No. 2S, dated the 21st ultimo, pointing out that there is an error of fact in the

memorandum which accompanied my letter No. 857, dated the 30th April last, regarding the summary execution of Kuka prisoners at Malehr Kotla, and the conduct of Messrs Cowan and Forsyth in connection therewith. You state that "the 16 prisoners executed by the Commissioner of Ambala at Malehr Kotla were blown from guns and not hanged."

2. This statement, now communicated for the first time has been received by the Governor General in Council with much surprise, and it becomes necessary to refer to the previous correspondence on this painful case with a view to discover, if possible, the grounds on which the impression was left on the mind of His Excellency in Council that the 16 prisoners had been executed by hanging in the ordinary way.

3. It appears in the first place that, while the 49 prisoners executed by Mr. Cowan's order, are repeatedly mentioned as having been blown away from guns, the correspondence never applies that term once to the 16 prisoners executed with Mr. Forsyth's sanction. A *prima facie* impression was thus created that they were executed in the ordinary manner. This impres-

\*Enclosure of letter from Punjab Government to Government of India, No. 914, dated 15th March 1872.

sion was strengthened by Colonel Perkin's report of the 6th February\* in which he says—"It was determined by the Deputy Commissioner summarily to execute 50 of the 68 captured, by blowing them away from guns, reserving 16 to be hung at Malodh." In a subsequent part of this letter Colonel Perkins speaks of the remaining prisoners as sentenced to suffer death after a formal trial, but makes no mention of their being blown away from guns.

4. Again, your letter No. 23C, of the 19th January simply describes Mr. Forsyth as having at Kotla executed after formal trial 16 of the men implicated. In your letter No. 36C of the 26th January, it is said that Mr. Forsyth sentenced 16 more prisoners to death after trial, and Mr. Forsyth, in his letter of the 22nd January, simply speaks of having condemned 16 men after fair trial.

5. I am more especially to draw your attention to Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 19th January, in which he writes as follows, in paragraph 7, regarding the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan—"There being no arrangements for hanging so many men at Kotla, and considering the circumstances of the case and its occurring in a Native State, these men were executed by Mr. Cowan by being blown from guns a proceeding warranted by former precedents when large numbers of rebels were thus disposed of in 1857." After thus expressly excusing Mr. Cowan's action in using this mode of execution, Mr. Forsyth in the very next paragraph describes the proceeding with regard to the remaining sixteen men in the following words: The remaining 16 prisoners were regularly tried by Mr. Cowan acting on behalf of, and sitting on the bench with the Nazim and Tehsildar of the Malehr Kotla State. The proceedings were formally recorded; and the sentence of death passed by them having received by sanction, was carried into execution in the presence of the European Officers and the officials of Malehr Kotla and the adjoining states."

It will thus be seen that Mr. Forsyth, after expressly defending Mr. Cowan's resort to this mode of punishment, made no allusion whatever to its employment by himself.

6. I am also to refer to Mr. Forsyth's letter No. 153 of the 8th April 1872, paragraphs 7 to 9 No. One could possibly suppose, from Mr. Forsyth's language in this letter, that he had not followed the ordinary procedure.

7. I am to request that, under the order of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Forsyth may be called upon to state why this important fact was not reported. If at the same time Mr. Forsyth wishes to submit any further explanation of his reasons for adopting this mode of punishment, he is at liberty to do so. The Governor General in Council also wishes to know when and in what manner, these facts were first brought to the knowledge of the Punjab Government; and I am to request that if there has been any correspondence bearing on the subject, which has not already been laid before the Government of India, it may now be submitted.

8. I am further directed to inquire whether the execution of these 16 prisoners in the manner adopted by Mr. Forsyth was legal under the rules in force for the administration of criminal justice in Malehr Kotla. It is necessary that this point should be made quite clear, because the Governor General in Council has hitherto assumed, as stated in paragraph 29 of my letter of the 30th April, that "Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of any illegal action."

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### DOCUMENT 16 (D)

#### EXECUTION OF 16 KUKA PRISONERS at MALAIRKOTLA

*Dated Simla, 17th June, 1872.*

*From*

T.D. Forsyth Esqr., C.B.,  
Commr. and Supdt., Ambala Division.

*To*

The Offg. Secretary to Government,  
Punjab.

I have the honour to reply to the letter No. 1012, dated 10th June, from E.C. Baylay Esqr., secretary to Government of India forwarded with your Docket. No. 20S., dated 12th June.

2. I regret exceedingly, if any ambiguity in any writing at the earliest stage of the proceedings should have caused a doubt to be raised as to the mode of execution employed. When I wrote my letter dated 19th January, I thought I had explained in sufficiently clear terms that there were no arrangements for hanging a number of men at Kotla and that it would be understood from 7th para that the mode of execution by blowing away was applied to all. Had there been arrangements for hanging 16 men the same would have sufficed for 3 times that number by executing them in three batches ; and I should

have entered into further explanation to show why after all I had resorted to hanging if I had done so.

3. But in truth it never occurred to me that doubt could arise in the mind of anyone on the subject; for Colonel Perkins, on the night of the 18th January before my letter was written, despatched from Kotla a message which he showed me stating the fact. Moreover, he made a report in the diary of the same date to the same effect, which must have reached you about the 20th January. I beg to refer to your No. 77C dated 14th February para 2, in which you inform me that from the Police report His Honour understands that these men were blown away from guns.

On the 15th February I replied to your letter stating that "the men referred to were blown away from guns".

4. As all doubt, then, was entirely removed so far back as the 15th February, I respectfully submit that the uncertainty noted in the letter of the Secretary to Government of India; as existing when your letter No. 914, dated 15th March, was received, cannot be laid to my charge.

Similarly, as regards paragraph 6th of the Secretary's letter when the Punjab Government were in possession of truth, I respectfully submit that it cannot be supposed that any intention of concealing the fact when writing on the 8th April and it has caused me the utmost pain to perceive that such an idea regarding my proceedings could be entertained by the Government of India.

5. As regards the reasons for adopting this mode of punishment, I have already stated that there was no proper arrangement for hanging a large number, or, in fact, I made any careful and personal enquiry. To have sent them into Ludhiana for this purpose would have been irregular for the crime of which they were convicted was committed in a Native State, and ought to be punished there and, even supposing that hasty arrangements could have been made, I knew from former painful experience that executions by hanging, unless properly conducted, inflicts far more lingering torture on the sufferer,



and are more harrowing to the spectators, than execution by the more summary process.

6. As regards the legality of the procedure, the criminal procedure code not having been extended to the state of Maler Kotla, and there being no express law on this point in that state, there was no illegality in restoring to this mode of execution.

And the crime being one of not simply of murder, but rather of State rebellion with murder, the punishment by blowing away from guns is one recognised as appropriate by the natives generally, and has at different times been adopted.

Those who are acquainted with the Panjab know that in cases of state offences, or in any case, it is much more in accordance with the feelings of the proud sikhs that they should meet death at the cannon's mouth than receive it from the hangman's hands, and earnest requests to this effect are frequently made to our officers at the time of passing sentence.

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### DOCUMENT 16 (E)

(Important portion only—compiler)

*No. 2275-54 S., dated 29th June, 1872.*

*From*

Lepel Griffin Esqr.,  
Officiating Secretary to Government,  
Panjab.

*To*

The Secretary to Government of India,  
Home Department.

I am directed to reply to your letter, No. 1012, dated 10th instant, (Judicial), on the subject of the error in the memorandum accompanying your letter of the 30th April last, No. 857, which contained the statement that the 16 men executed

by Mr. Forsyth at Kotla were hanged when in reality they were blown from guns.

7. The fairness of the trial was not effected by the manner of the punishment, and the term "execution" implies as much to blowing from guns as to hanging.

With reference to the enquiry in the last paragraph of your letter, I am directed to state that the procedure adopted by Mr. Forsyth in blowing the convicts from guns was not illegal under the rules in force for the administration of criminal justice in Maler Kotla. This state is not affected by the procedure of the codes in force in British territory and the only Provision for the guidance of the Commissioner is that a capital sentence passed by the Chief or ruling authorities of the state shall be carried out with his sanction. This is the rule also in the Kalsia State and the Simla Hill States.

8. So far as the Government records show, no capital punishment had been inflicted in Maler Kotla during the time to which its connection with the British Government extends. It cannot therefore be said that the rule of Malerkotla on capital punishments was execution by hanging. This would no doubt have been the procedure ordinarily followed ; but there was nothing in the action of Mr. Forsyth illegal or contrary to the rules in force for the administration of justice in Maler Kotla when, finding that the sentence of death passed could not be carried into effect by hanging without considerable delay, which delay he considered it impolitic to allow, he executed the convicts by blowing them from guns. The silence of the law could not, indeed, make the procedure of a British officer invested with authority to confirm sentence of death legal had he directed a procedure which inflicted torture on the convicts, such as used to be practised in Native states in capital executions ; but blowing from a gun is an impressive and merciful manner of execution, well calculated to strike terror into the bystanders.

**DOCUMENT 16 (F)**

Remarks made on the file in Governor General's Office.

(Important notes only—Compiler).

While I think it very undesirable to enter into any further discussion which it is possible to avoid, it seems to me necessary that the Government of India should state emphatically its inability to agree with the opinion given by the Lieutenant-Governor in the last words of his letter, that "blowing from a gun is an impressive and merciful manner of execution, well calculated to strike terror into the bystanders." These papers will be published, and the Government of India ought not by its silence to leave any room for the supposition that it accepts such a statement as just. That blowing away from guns again probably involves no great amount of physical suffering to the victim may be true, but to apply such a term as "merciful" to such a punishment is a strange misuse of language. That it is "calculated to strike terror" is perfectly true. All who have been unfortunate enough to witness such an execution know that a more horrible and revolting spectacle can hardly be conceived. It is this fact which renders it terrible to the bystanders, but which also renders it repugnant to humanity, and a punishment unfit to be inflicted by civilized men. Such punishments may doubtless, become sometimes necessary, but the Government of India cannot admit that any necessity existed in the present case.

The fact stated by Mr. Forsyth, that "There were no arrangements for hanging a number of men at Kotla, might not unreasonably have been assigned as a reason for sparing the lives of some or all of the prisoners, but it was no reason for the course which was followed. The Government of India condemned the action of Mr. Forsyth when it believed that these men were executed according to the ordinary forms of English law. It must condemn that action still more strongly now that it has learned, that he ordered them to be executed in a manner so unusual and so barbarous.

I think that this correspondence should be published in the Gazette.

J.S. 3-7-72.

If a number of people are to be executed at once, the blowing away from guns is a much quicker process, and, therefore less painful than hanging.

Less painful even than shooting to death by musketry, which is often described as requiring a final butchery.

But the necessity for taking life judicially at all, is inexpressively painful and only admitted to save greater evils.

It would not be expedient to enter into a discussion with the Punjab Government as to the more merciful mode of execution, which must end is a matter of opinion. It may suffice to say that the Government of India considers that such an exceptional mode of punishment should never be had recourse to except under extreme necessity.

The exoneration of Mr. Forsyth might go home by the next mail as proposed in council.

Sd.

N.OF M. 4-7-72.

I SUBSCRIBE to the above. (G.G.)

R,T. 5-7-72.

### **DOCUMENT 16 (G)**

*No. 40, dated Simla, the 8th July 1872*

*From*

The Government of India.

*To*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State  
for India.

In continuation of our despatch No. 34, dated the 10

\*From Punjab No. 64E,  
dated 29th June 1872  
and enclosure.

ultimo, we transmit herewith copy  
of further correspondence\* with the  
Government of the Punjab, regarding  
the sixteen Kuka prisoners who were

blown away from guns at Malehr Kotla under the orders of  
Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of Umballa.

2. We beg to call Your Grace's attention to this correspondence in connection with letter to the Punjab Government, No. 1012, dated the 10th June, a copy of which accompanied our despatch above mentioned. It will be observed that these papers completely exonerate Mr. Forsyth from any blame on account of the mis-apprehension as to the mode of execution created in our minds by the papers which were before us when our letter of the 30th of April to the Punjab Government was written.

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**DOCUMENT 17**

**REPORT ON THE KUKA SUBAHS CONFINED IN  
ALLAHABAD FORT**

*No. 1046, dated Simla, the 13th June, 1872*

*From*

H.W. Wellesley, Under Secretary to  
Government of India.

*To*

The Offg. Secretary to Government,  
Panjab.

I am directed to invite attention to paras 3 and 6, dated the 10th March, last, and to request that the report therein called for may be furnished with the least possible delay. The Government of the North-Western Provinces represents that there is no proper accommodation at Allahabad for the Kuka prisoners now under detention, and orders regarding them are urgently to be given.

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**DOCUMENT 17 (A)***No.—dated Simla enclosure**From*

J.W. Macnabb,  
Deputy Commissioner, Ambala Distt.

*To*

Offg. Secretary to Government,  
Panjab.

In reply to your No. 118, dated 19th March, 1872, regarding the 11 Kuka Subhas now in confinement at Allahabad I have the honor to submit the following report.

The object of the enquiry I have been directed to make is to show whether or not these men are individually of dangerous characters, whose release would be likely to lead to further trouble in the Panjab.

The case of each individual is submitted separately, as directed, but it is also necessary to state the case against them generally; as it appears from enquiries, I had previously made, the result of which is given in my report of the 4th November last, and from the evidence now obtained, which consists of the papers detailed in the appendix and the statements of the prisoners themselves,

It would be observed that the evidence contained in the appendix has been obtained from many perfectly independent sources, which gives it, where the statements agree, the greater weight.

The report of the 4th November proves, beyond doubt, that Kuka-ism aims at the restoration of Sikh rule, and by necessity the subversion of the English power.

I would here note that where the witness speaks of a Sikh Raj succeeding that of the English, a temporal and not merely a spiritual rule is intended, and it seems to me that there

were declarations of the immediate advent of the Sikh Raj under Kuka leadership, addressed to men who urged to become Kukas that they may derive all the benefits accruing to the members of a victorious sect, is a teaching intended to stir up sedition in the minds of the hearers, and this is what I mean when in the accompanying papers I have used the word "Sedition".

That the sect and its tenets are actually dangerous to the tranquillity of the province is further proved by the outbreak at Tharajwala, near Mokatsar, in February 1869, in which, after collecting all their cash and grain into a common stock, the Kukas of that neighbourhood proclaimed the Sikh Raj, secondly, by the murder of the butchers, which was a political move defying British authority which had specially permitted kine killings; thirdly, by their late attack on Maloudh and Maler Kotla.

All the prisoners admit, with the exception of Man Singh and Mangal Singh, that they are subhas, or leaders, of this dangerous sect; and against these two their leadership is fully proved on this ground alone they must be held to be dangerous.

But in addition to this there is the evidence of a great number of Zaildars and Lambardars, or headmen of villages, to prove that the general preaching of the Subhas themselves was sedition, namely that all should become Kukas at once, otherwise it will be too late, as the Sikh Raj, under the leadership of Ram Singh, is to commence, and those who fail to join now will not be allowed to do so then; that the men are to get as much cash ready as possible; that the women are to wear short drawers that they may become martyrs with decency; and there must first be persecution, then success (a convenient doctrine accounting for all reverses).

All the prisoners, except Mangal Singh and Man Singh, admit that they were at Bhaini when the outbreak took place. Jowahir Singh admits that it was the common talk of the place that the "mastanas" were in a fanatical frenzy, and were going to attack Maler Kotla, Nabha, Jind and Patiala: and the witnesses Bhola Singh, Dewa Singh, Nihal Singh, Bhagwani and Lakka Singh state that the prisoners, except Mangal Singh, had their hand in the intended attack.

These prisoners thus proved to be dangerous men. I would strongly recommend that they should not be allowed to return to the Panjab at present.

Both they and their followers would at once set it down as a fresh demonstration of their Guru's power, and coupled with the punishment of the officers who were concerned in the late Kuka executions, it would lead to an immediate revival of the hopes and activity of the sect.

As an instance of the way in which every event is misrepresented so as to rebound to their Guru's glory, I may mention that, when trying the Raikot case, I sent for Ram Singh as a witness for the defence. He came, and was kept waiting in a tent till his turn came. His followers knowing (which I did not then know) how deeply he was implicated in the business, were much surprised at his being let go, and the story was immediately circulated that he had "miraculously disappeared from the tent, where he was a prisoner, that the police refused to guard him any longer, and the Sahib Log then let him go.—(see copy L). I would recommend that (1) Sahib Singh (3) Lakka Singh, and (4) Kanh Singh be detained in banishment for life; that the cases of the others be reconsidered with reference to the state of Kuka-ism in the Panjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated, and that should it then be thought expedient to allow their return they should remain under police surveillance at their homes, and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings; (6) Jowahir Singh to be detained for life, unless Kuka-ism collapses so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety, (5) Brahma Singh, and (10) Pahara Singh, 10 years, Man Singh, three years, (2) Rur Singh and (7) Hukma Singh, one year (on release, this man should be made over to the Nabha Raja). (11) Sirdar Mangal Singh was made over to us by the Maharaja of Patiala, and, as his prisoner, I am not called for an opinion regarding him, further than to state that were he in the same position as the others I would recommend his immediate release on the terms offered by him, and, if that is not approved of, would detain him in banishment for life. I do not think he will disconnect our action regarding him from that of Patiala.

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**DOCUMENT 17 (B)**

*No. 2217, dated 28th June, 1872*

*From*

Lepel H. Griffin,  
Offg. Secretary to Government, Panjab.

*To*

The Offg. Secretary to Govt.  
of India, Home Department.

I am directed, in acknowledging your letters No. 472, dated 10th March, and No. 1046, dated 13th June, to forward a report on the cases of the Kuka subhas confined in the fort of Allahabad. This report has been prepared by Mr. James Macnabb, C.S. who was specially deputed for this purpose in accordance with the directions of the Government of India, and who, as officiating Commissioner of Ambalah during the greater part of 1871, had the best opportunity of forming a reliable opinion on the position of the Kuka sect generally, and the relative importance of its leaders.

2. In the conclusions of this report the Hon'ble the Lt. Governor generally agrees. It carefully discriminates the degrees of danger to be apprehended from each of the Kuka Subhas under detention, but His Honor does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to those degrees. The expediency of releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the province, and the Lt. Governor thinks such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the local government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed and a report made to the Govt. of India.

3. As regards Sardar Mangal Singh, in particular, apart from the fact of his having been made over by the Maharaja of Patiala for detention in British territory, it is clear from the evidence collected by Mr. Macnabb, that he is one of the principal conspirators, while his rank and position leave his treason without excuse or palliation. The Lieutenant-Governor cannot agree with Mr. Macnabb in thinking that any appreciable advantage would accrue from his public recantation of

Kukaism. Followed up by his release, it would be generally attributed to interested inconsistency. It is preferable that he should be detained as an example and warning to the plotters of better class.

4. The appendices A and K are forwarded in original to save delay.

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### **DOCUMENT 17 (C)**

**Note.** About the Report (Compiler)

The original report is a bulky volume. It contains:

- (a) Selected papers, 1867, 68, 69, 70.
- (b) Reports of police officers.
- (c) Depositions and statements recorded by the District Superintendents of Police of Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Lahore, Gujranwala, Ferozepore, and Jullundur.
- (d) Depositions and statements recorded by the Deputy Commissioners of Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur, Gujranwala, and Assistant Commissioners of Sialkot, Ferozepore, (Extracts printed in the present book.)
- (e) Statements made by the Kuka Subhas before Mr. Macnabb in the Allahabad fort on 23rd, 24th and 25 April 1872.

Summary of evidence in regard to every individual has been recorded carefully and with much labour. Important extracts are printed, in the present volume. (Compiler Nahar Singh).

(1) Sahib Singh (own statement) son of Dial Singh, of Banwalipur, Taran Tarun, Amritsar—aged 38, caste Carpenter. Became an Udasi Sadh about 9 years ago, before I became a kuka. In 1916 Sammat went to Hazroh, and was made a kuka by Balak Singh (Founder), who died in 1919. Balak Singh named Ram Singh as his successor. Ram Singh appointed no successor.

I was made a Subah five or six years ago. The first made Subahs were Kahn Singh, Sudh Singh and Jowahir Singh..... A year and a quarter ago, I went to Nepal with Kahan

Singh, Auttur Singh, Jewan Singh and two others with 2 mules and 2 buffaloes, the former for the Tika and the latter for the Rajah of Nepal.....there are some 15 or 20 sikhs in the service of the Rajah of Nepal. One is an adjutant, another a Jemadar.....My duties as subah are to look after the stable and breeding establishment and sell the stock. I sold several horses at Hardwar a few years ago. The profits go to the Langer Khana (Free kitchen for all and at all times.) I go about with Ram Singh. I make kukas.

**Note.** Intelligent, clever, and determined looking, much the abler of the Subahs. Sd. J.W. Macnabb

No 2 Rur Singh son of Dial Singh, caste Carpenter, aged 41, of Banwalipur. I now live and work in Amritsar, Have a family. Baba Ram Singh made me a kuka in Sambat 1917 was made an instructor of religion some five years ago. Was with Ram Singh at the Anandpur mela. It was after this Mela that I was allowed to impart the (Nam). I merely teach in the city.

**Note.** This does not seem a man of mark or character, probably owes his position to being Sahib Singh's brother. 24th April 1872. Sd./ J.W. Macnabb.

(3) Lukha Singh son of Rana Singh, age 36 of Malaudh, Ludhiana. I was formerly in the Sher-Dil regiment, and when it was broken up, was drafted into the police. I resigned in Sambat 1918.

I had been made a Kuka by Ram Singh in Ludhiana in 1916 or 1917, the famine year. I remained at Bhaini feeding his cattle and helping at the cooking house.

I was present at the Holi Mela at Khota in Firozapore, also at the Baisakhi at Dumduma Sahib.

**Note.** Looks a good for nothing.

### **Opinion**

This man is clearly the most turbulent of the Subahs. There can be no doubt about his preaching sedition and his having seen Hira Singh's band off with encouraging words. He should remain in perpetual banishment.

Sd. J.W. Macnabb

23 April 1872

(4) Kanh Singh alias Nihang Singh age 60, Caste Jat of Chak in Malehr Kotla.

I was a Havildar, and Ram Singh a sipahi in Naonihal Singh's Regiment and used to be on duty with Brigade Major Mackson. I was made a Kuka in 1898, in Sher Singh's time by Balak Singh in Hazro, when Ram Singh was also made Kuka. Left the army, when it threw down its arms at Rawalpindi.

When Ram Singh was confined to Bhaini, I went to Mcleod Sahib (the Lieutenant Governor) and said, that the people were in great difficulties on account of the Baba (Ram Singh) not being able to go about to marriages and worship.

I was not with Baba Naina Singh in the disturbances made not by him but by his Chela. I was with my regiment. I went with Sahib Singh to Nipal to sell buffaloes and mules.

.....was at Hoshiarpur at the time of Amritsar murders ..... and was placed under surveillance". At the time of Raikot murders, I was under orders from the police not to move into Hoshiarpur". I have made Kukas of a Havildar, and some 15 men of the Hoshiarpur police. I suffer from rupture, and cannot move about. I am also suffering from dysentery.

**Note.** I have had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of this man. He is a cunning fellow, very much of the same stamp as Lukka Singh—not so intelligent as Sahib Singh.

### **Opinion**

Kanh Singh is a man of much weight, certainly putting Mangal Singh aside, the third in importance among the Subhas. I would keep him in banishment for the rest of his life.

Sd./ J.W. Macnabb

*25 April 1872*

(5) Brahma Singh S/o Gulab Singh about 50 Jat village Duriapur—in Kythal.

“I became an Udasi Sadh as a beardless youth. In Sambat 1916, returning from Kashmir met Balak Singh at Hazro and was made Kuka—not so. I was told the name (i.e. Ram Nam).

I was living in Gill in 1921, and met Ram Singh at Amritsar and came on with him to Bhaini. He told me that it was a great trouble to the people to come all the way from Sialkot and Gujranwala to Bhaini and to be made Kukas, and that I should undertake the business. I excused myself and said, I wanted to be quiet. He said, you must do it, and I undertook it. I go about, where people ask me. Jatha Singh is in the same district and we sometime go together, sometimes separately....

I did teach the women to wear the Kuch. The people hate me, because I tell them not to steal or kill their infants, or sell their daughters or sisters, therefore they tell lies about me.

**Note.** Seems to me a really religious man. May become enthusiastic when excited.

Sd. J.W. Macnabb

*The 24th April 1872*

### **Opinion**

There can, I think, be no doubt that Barhma Singh has, for some years past, been systematically preaching sedition.

.....He seems to me more of a religious enthusiast and less of a mere political adventurer than the others. Such a character acting on Sikh sentimentality would be only the more dangerous in times of excitement.

Banishment for life as in the cases of Sahib Singh, Kanh Singh and Lakha Singh.

Sd J.W. Macnabb

(6) Jowahir Singh son of Dal Singh of Daroli (Bhai) Police Station Dakroo, Tehsil Moga, age 50, Caste Jat.

My father died, when I was 5 years old. I used to cultivate "but became a Nirmla Sadh in Sambat 1905, and have wandered all over the country, was four years in Benaras.

I became a Kuka in Sambat 1917. I found, they were good people. I also became Sadh of a well at Bilaspur in Moga.

Was made Subah seven years ago.....Narain Singh has gone to the South".....I always go with Ram Singh to all Melas. I was at the Diwali, at Maghi and at Anandpur.

**Note.** Jowahir Singh seems a genuine Fakir and does not look to me dangerous, but evidently keeps back a good deal that he knows. A great deal of the above was extracted with difficulty from him.

J.W. Macnabb

*25th April 1872*

### **Opinion**

I recommend that Jowahir Singh's banishment be perpetual.

J.W. Macnabb

(7) Maluk Singh son of Sukha Singh age 39 years, village Phullewala, Mukatsar in Firozpur.

"Ram Singh made me a Kuka at Bhaini in 1921, Samvat. After two years, I was made a Subah.

*23rd April 1872.*

### **Opinion**

It appears that Maluk Singh was an influential and seditious fanatic in Feb. 1869. "He may be allowed to return after

2 years, on condition of remaining at his home, under the surveillance of the police and never to attend fairs or meetings of any kind.

Sd./ J.W. Macnabb

(8) Man Singh son of Makhan Singh of Saideki in Firozpur 40 years of age Jat.

I was made a kuka by Ram Singh in Sambat 1922. I am a cultivator. I am not a Subha, "NAM DENEWALA". The other prisoners are Subhas. I am not sure about Mangal Singh, being a subha, but he is a great sikh. The Nam is "Wah GURU".

**Note.** He makes a great fuss about saying this and repeats it afterwards "within his teeth", as I was previously told was "Ram Singh's order".

**Note.** This man seems a harmless quiet fellow—a very ordinary Jat Sikh.

Sd./ J.W. Macnabb

*23rd April 1872.*

### **Opinion**

Although not a subha, he holds very nearly the same position and an active propagandist.....I recommend his being allowed to return in three years, if things have quieted down. He should not, under any circumstances, return, along with Maluk Singh, as he belongs to the same part of the country.

If allowed to return, it should be under the same restrictions as recommended for the others.

Sd. J.W. Macnabb

(9) Hukma Singh village Pithoke in the Nabha State, age 35, caste Jat.

"I was made Kuka by Ram Singh at Bhaini Sambat 1914, and was made Subah in Sambat 1923. Previous to being made

Kuka, I was a Nirmalla Sadh and have only visited my village occasionally for the last 20 years ; have no family. I live at Bhaini, and copy holy books (Pothies) and if any one wants the "Nam", I give it then".

Remarks from summary of evidence.

"a zealous Subah, always with Ram Singh.....generally preaching sedition".

(Sd.) J.W. Macnabb

*23rd April 1872*

### **Opinion**

Hukma Singh does not seem a man of much mark or importance.....He has been for years the close personal attendance on Ram Singh and has been employed for copying Pothies (holy books) and that the books found on Kukas are generally seditious in their tendency.....I think he might be sent back in a year's time, if all is quiet, and made over to the Raja of Nabha who would willingly see that he lives quietly under police surveillance at his village of Pithoki, neither holding meetings nor attending fairs.

(Sd.) J.W. Macnabb.

(10) Pahara Singh son of Hema, caste Jat, age 42, of Malodh.

"I was in Sirdar Mit Singh's service, but gave it up in the mutiny year and became a Nirmala Sadh.....Ram Singh made me a Kuka in Sambat 1917, and five years ago, I was made a Subah.

I have since then lived at Syar (a village in the Dehlon police station, Ludhiana district). At Syar, there are many of my relations, also many "Nambhai" Kukas. I always go about with Ram Singh to all melas, was with him at Amritsar, also Anandpur, at Kotha, but not at Dumduma."

**Note.** A fanatical, dangerous looking man.....There is however a good deal of determination in his face.

(Sd.) J.W. Macnabb.



## Opinion

Pahara Singh is undoubtedly a Subah of much influence and decidedly of a dangerous character.

He may have less influence, but I am inclined to think him more dangerous than Brahma Singh, and would recommend his remaining in banishment for ten years, after which his case may be considered with reference to the state of the country, if at all allowed to return, he should remain under police surveillance in the village and be prohibited from holding meetings or attending fairs.

(Sd.) J.W. Macnabb

(11) **Sardar Mangal Singh** of Bishanpura, in Patiala and Raipur-Ludhiana *statement*. Some five years ago, or perhaps more, my son was ill, and I was advised to take him to Ram Singh. He cured him, and I became a believer in Ram Singh, but never formally a Kuka. Without doubt, I used to give largely Rs. 200/-, Rs. 300/-, Rs. 400/-, to Ram Singh, because he is a holy man. I never became a Suba, nor I am a Kuka...when I saw, that the Kukas were giving trouble, and that government was displeased with them, I gave up Kukaism. This was about a year and a half ago. If government will release me I will go and publicly recant at the Akal Bunga at Amritsar. I have taken to eating flesh and drinking wine, since I renounced Kukaism."

*Note by the compiler.* "Nearly All wealth-owning persons behave at all times and on such occasions as Sardar Mangal Singh did. They are opportunists and in order to gain their worldly aims exploit holy men, and religious minded masses especially among the Sikhs. The Akali movement, 1920-25 presents such examples by dozens—In the recent Punjabi Suba agitation, 1952-66, the fabulously rich Sikh gentlemen jumped in at critical moments and exploited the masses for their personal gains and benefits." (Nahar Singh)

**Note.** This is a short man, rather a long tongue.

**Opinion.** There can be no doubt, that in some respects Sardar Mangal Singh is Ram Singh's most important follower.

His joining the Kukas had more effect in furthering the cause than any event which has lately occurred.....

On the other hand Mangal Singh looks like a man, who could go in for a great venture and no one, not even Ram Singh himself, was in a position to profit more by a restoration of the Sikh Raj by Kuka means,.....

Sardar Mangal Singh however, is Maharajah's prisoner, and not ours, and I believe, I shall not be expected to pass any opinion in the case from this point of view.....

I would only protest against half-measures with this particular man. He should either be allowed to return at once, nor be kept in perpetual banishment. (Sd.) J.W. Macnabb

### DOCUMENT 18

*Notes, and remarks on the report in Governor General's Office*

Names of Kooka Prisoners confined in the Allahabad Central Jail	Recommendation of Mr. W. Macnabb Deputy Commis- sioner of Umbala on special duty.
1. Sahib Singh	To be detained in banishment for life.
2. Rur Singh	To be detained for two years and see foot note.
3. Lookka Singh	The same as No. 1.
4. Kahn Singh	Do
5. Burmah Singh	To be detained for ten years and see note.
6. Jowahar Singh	To be detained for life unless Kookaism collapses so as to cease to be a matter of political anxiety.
7. Maluk Singh	To be detained for two years and see note.

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 8. Man Singh        | To be detained for three years and see note.  |
| 9. Hukma Singh      | To be detained for one year. (On release this man to be made over to the Nabha Raja). |
| 10. Pahara Singh    | To be detained for 10 years and see note.   |
| 11. S. Mungul Singh | In reference to this prisoner Mr. Macnabb writes as follows :                         |

S. Mungul Singh was made over to us by the Maharaja Puttiala and as his prisoner. I am not called on for an opinion regarding him. Further than to state that were he in the same position as the other I would recommend his immediate release. On the terms offered by him and if that is not approved would detain him in banishment for life.

**Note.** Macnabb further recommends that the cases of these men be reconsidered with reference to the state of Kookaism in the Punjab generally at the time when the period named for each shall have terminated ; and that should it when be [thought expedient to allow their return, they should remain under Police surveillance at their homes and neither attend nor hold fairs or meetings

The Punjab Government on the Report of Mr. Macnabb.

“The Lieutenant Governor agrees generally in the conclusions arrived at by Mr. Macnabb, but does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment...in proportion to the degree of danger to be apprehended in each case. States that the expediency of releasing them mainly depends on the state of feeling in the Province but at no time should such a measure be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually reviewed and a report made to the Government of India.”

As regards the case of S. Mungul Singh the Lieutenant Governor does not agree in Mr. Macnabb's recommendations. But thinks it preferable that he should be detained as example and warning to plotters of the better class.

2-7-72.

W.S.S.

This note, prepared in the office, shows Mr. Macnabb's recommendations in a collated form.

2-7-72.

H.W.

The case will be studied by the Hon'ble member. I need add nothing. I see that the question of a place of custody remains undecided. Shall I telegraph to Chief Commissioner central provinces, asking, whether he can give up and make available the Asseergurh building.

3-7-72.

H.L.D.

"The object with which Mr. Macnabb's inquiry was ordered was that the Government of India might be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support, if desired necessary, the detention of Ram Singh's Subas after the excitement immediately arising out of the recent occurrence in the Ambala Division has passed away."

It was ordered that the officers conducting the inquiry should collect the evidence and the defence of the prisoners and make a summary of the evidence in each man's case, and that he should also express his opinions as to the degree of guilt attaching to each of the several prisoners and the expediency or otherwise releasing him.

The Government of Punjab was further asked to express an opinion with reference to the evidence and to the position of each individual and his influence whether he should be released at once, or detained, and if detained, for how long a period.

As a matter of fact, the officer conducting the inquiry has gone a little beyond his commission ; and having decided that all, or, at any rate, all but one, of the prisoners should be detained and has also proposed a specific period of detention for each.

The Government of the Punjab on the other hand has declined to accept the periods so fixed by Mr. Macnabb while generally accepting his other conclusions (except as to the one man S. Mungul Singh whom he thought might perhaps on certain conditions be released) and moreover they decline to fix any specific periods of their own. His Honour says, "The expediency of releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the Province, and the Lieutenant Governor thinks that such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the conditions that the cases are annually reviewed and a report made to the Government of India."

As to Mungul Singh the Punjab Government consider him of the principal and least excusable of the conspirators.

This opinion of the Punjab Government appears to be just; and moreover the view taken of the case of each man by Mr. Macnabb does not in every case seem to myself quite sound. I, therefore, propose, as the matter is one of much importance, to review his proposals somewhat in detail.

In considering his final judgement Mr. Macnabb has, I think, been influenced partly by the evidence as to the share taken by the prisoners in the Kooka Confederacy, but mainly by their personal character. It seems to me, however, that their local influence and position are also very serious points to which Mr. Macnabb seems hardly to have paid perhaps quite sufficient attention.

It is quite possible that a man may be dangerous from his position alone, to say nothing of position and influence combined. For example, Sahib Singh is admittedly the probable successor of Ram Singh, and Rur Singh is his brother yet (though Rur Singh seems undoubtedly to have been cognizant of the butcher murders before their commission) because he is man of no "mark or character" and "family man", Mr. Macnabb would release him almost sooner than any other man. To proceed, however, the first man is Sahib Singh. Sahib Singh was Ram Singh's ambassador in the recent mission to Nepal. He is on the books of all the Police Officers as "Ram

Singh's expected successor." His "confidential Suba, Ram Singh's Lieutenant", "always with Ram Singh", "best known of all the Subas" and Mr. Macnabb describes him as "Educated, ambitious, designing, always edging on Ram Singh to fresh movements".

There is direct evidence (appendix C) as to his being one at least of the most active for the Kooka propaganda. But there is also some evidence, and evidence which I think too is not to be likely cast aside. That he was one of Subas present at Bhainee during the Lohri Festival and that he encouraged and exhorted party under Lehna Singh and Heera Singh to start in their march for Maleirkotla.

There is also some evidence but perhaps not quite reliable that on this occasion Sahib Singh took the lead amongst others in a confidential Council in which Ram Singh was asked to declare himself King "to take his Raj."\*

Mr. Macnabb thinks that if he be ever allowed to return to the Punjab "Kookaism would at once revive and become troublesome" and recommends his permanent detention.

This proposal is probably right. The man is a dangerous traitor, and with the mass ignorance and fanaticism always to be found in the Punjab, would have, at any time plenty of combustible material to his hand. He probably was the main leader of the active and political portion of the sect.

**Rur Singh.** Of Rur Singh I have already spoken. He is believed to have been an accomplice in the Amritsar Butcher murder. He left Bhainee suddenly and in a suspicious manner with 16 Kookas for Amritsar on the 16 January last, as was believed at the time, to raise the Kookas of that quarter; had the attack on Maleirkotla been successful. He admits to be a Suba. He is brother to Sahib Singh who is scarcely of less importance than Ram Singh. I cannot understand how Mr.

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\*This evidence is chiefly that of the Headmen of Bhainee itself. In one sense it is valuable because they doubtless work in a position to know every thing that went on. On the other hand they were not favourably disposed to Ram Singh, who had partly usurped their local authority and had even appropriated some of the village land of his followers.

Macnabb attaches so little importance to him. He is clearly capable of being a very dangerous tool if not likely himself to be a leading conspirator. He should not, I think, be allowed to go at large till at least the organisation of the sect is thoroughly broken down beyond all revival, and then only under strict surveillance.

**Lukka Singh.** Mr. Macnabb goes very fully into this man's case. He is no doubt an active leader and seems to have been specially seditious and to be peculiarly characterised by his turbulence and readiness for disturbance. All the evidence strongly insists on this dangerous character, and he is said to have been conspicuous in sending off and encouraging the band of men who went to attack Maleirkotla. Mr. Macnabb would keep him in perpetual banishment. I am disposed to agree at any rate that he certainly should not be released except under a very great change in the country and in his conduct.

**Kanh Singh.** Seems to be very much in the same category with Lukka Singh, and Mr. Macnabb places him accordingly and records a similar recommendation as to his treatment. This view is probably correct.

**Burmah Singh.** The evidence against this man is of the strongest possible character. He is shown on distinct evidence (part of this was sent up to Govt. a year ago, I may observe) to have for years systematically preached sedition and ultimate rebellion. He holds in the Goojeranwalla and Sialkot district, and the country, a position equivalent to that of the other leading Subhas. He was clearly cognizant of the intention to commit the butchers murders, and he preached openly in praise of them afterwards. After meetings convoked by him, acts such as those done by fanatic Kookas occurred,.....; destroying graves and injuring Masjids. He is said by Narain Singh (appendix B No.2) to have been the person who planned the attacks on Melerkotla and Maloodh, to have visited the Wahabie's Colonies in the hills, to have visited Kabul and appointed a Sooba there. Altogether he appears to be the most boldly seditious, active and persistent, of all the Soobas.

Yet Mr. Macnabb considers him less dangerous than the others, because he is more of a fanatic and less of a political



adventurer, and believes the case to be only stronger against him because the Police have been more active in his locality ; and would release him after ten years' detention under surveillance.

To my view he is only the more dangerous because the more sincere and I think he should be placed in the same category as Lukka Singh, Kahn Singh, Sahib Singh and in fact in the class of those who are scarcely (if at all) less dangerous than Ram Singh himself.

**Jowahar Singh.** As to this man I have nothing to add to what Mr. Macnabb says but he is certainly not a most dangerous man than Burmah Singh.

It may be well here to consider the case of Mangal Singh who is the last of what may be called the chief leaders of the Kookas. This man is near relative of Patiala Raja, or rather a near connection of his. He was arrested by the Raja and his deportation requested by the Raja. He has volunteered publicly to recant Kookaism and Mr. Macnabb is disposed to allow him to do this. The Punjab Govt. differ entirely and I am disposed to think they are right.

That Mangal Singh identified himself utterly with the Kookas there is no doubt. He joined them long since his junction is spoken of as having given a great impulse to the progress of the sect. He has been looked up to as the man of influence among them who is to do much for the sect. Even now the Kooka prophets foretell his release first as the forerunner of the release of the other of the imprisoned Kookas, and of the ultimate triumph of the sect. He is spoken of as publicly avowing the tenets of the sect and recommending them. He has made valuable presents to Ram Singh, and he seems, at one time at least, to have been in earnest for there is a story, which Mr. Macnabb appears to believe of his having in some way made over to Ram Singh certain jewels of large value (£30,000 it is said) with which he had been entrusted in the course of a mission to Dholepur where a connection of Patiala princess is married.

It was indeed given out among the Kookas that he joined the sect as the representative of the Raja who was secretly



inclined to favour them. I presume this rather applies to the late Raja.

The Raja, therefore, has ample grounds for arresting him as a Kooka leader of dangerous importance, and could have hardly shown his opposition to the sect or his loyalty to the British Government in a more emphatic manner.

It is needless to say that Mungul Singh must be dangerous even from his position and influence whatever his ability, (and he is said to be clever) and even though he may be merely a political intriguer without any real sympathy for the Kookas. But he is evidently dangerous on other grounds also ; he is reckless daring man who has flung himself into what he doubtless deemed a likely political movement and has not been struck as identifying himself with open sedition in the hope no doubt of high place\* and position if the movement is succeeded, as he probably believed either from calculation or fanaticism or partly through both, that it would.

Nothing I think could be more unwise than to release a man of this kind in the face of the Patiala Raja's arrest and request for deportation. His recantation would hardly have stronger political effect against the sect than his deportation, while it might be easily palliated, excused or afterwards even denied and would in any case weigh but little in the estimation of the sect against the service which he has already rendered or may be able to render.

And if even Mungul Singh were to break altogether with the Kookas, he is clearly a bold intriguing man of position and influence which he has shown himself ready to sell to the best adventurer or to any leader of turbulent parties who gives him a prospect of success.

He should not, I think, be released, unless the Maharaja of Patiala, who knows best his character and capabilities for evil,

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\*The witnesses say that he had been promised Nabha and Patiala as his share.

should desire his release and volunteer to be responsible for his conduct after his discharge from custody.

The remaining four men, *viz.*, Man Singh, Maluk Singh, Pahara Singh, Hukma Singh are evidently men of importance, and, judged from the part they played, of less ability than the others. They are rather unscrupulous and daring instruments, perhaps than able leaders. Still they have all deeply and conspicuously committed themselves by their acts.

**Maluk Singh** commenced years ago a fanatic outbreak avowedly intended to overthrow the existing Government and although ludicrously disproportioned to its objects, the attempt nevertheless have resulted in serious bloodshed, but for the promptitude, judgment and courage of the local authorities.

Mr. Macnabb says apparently he has tamed down of late but he has remained a Suba preaching the tenets and spreading the influence of the sect and in the confidence of the leader, who, he must have known, were tending in the same direction as his own abortive attempt, which for certain brought him into no disfavour with them.

**Man Singh** is much in the same boat. He was concerned in outbreak of 1869 ; and the evidence is strong against him of recent seditious teaching and active concern in the late outbreak. Though as to his last point the evidence is perhaps not quite so good, and there is some contradiction possibly, arising out of some confusion of names.

**Pahara Singh** is, if anything, more dangerous ; he seems undoubtedly to have taken an active part in planning the Amritsar butcher murder though rather in subordination to Burma Singh who kept in the background and he seems also, if the evidence is trustworthy, to have been active at the Lohri festival at Bhainee in counselling indeed urging the attack on Maloudh.

**Hukma Singh.** Owes his importance apparently not to his reputation as the confidential adviser and constant attendant on Ram Singh ; and to his quas-religious character and supposed sanctity. It is impossible to say what share he took

in the designs of the sect, but he can scarcely have been ignorant of, or hostile to them; nor has he used his palpable influence with Ram Singh to counteract them.

These four may perhaps be classed with Rur Singh and detained until the movement has lost all vitality and has perished beyond all chance of resuscitation.

The opinions expressed above may seem harsh and it may perhaps be deemed a strong measure to use Regulation III of 1818 to the extent contemplated. But it is to be remembered that almost beyond moral doubt all the prisoners have been concerned in crimes which would have subjected them to transportation for life if proved conspiring to wage war against the Queen, seditious preaching and teaching, abetment of murder and of rebellion with murder. These are the offences with one or more of which every one of the prisoners is at least on strong grounds charged. It seems probable now that if it were politic to bring them to trial, proof even for legal conviction (as for example against Burma Singh) could easily be obtained. There seems accordingly no practical injustice inflicting upon them under the Act, for reasons of policy, restriction of their liberty which they really deserved by their breaches of the criminal law. It seems only necessary to discriminate between those who as active leaders and will be dangerous under any circumstances so long as inflammable marks of ignorance and fanaticism exist in the Punjab, and those who are dangerous only in connection with the present movement.

There are two further points which seem to require notice. The light which the present evidence throws on the nature and importance of the Kooka movement and the career and the character of Ram Singh himself, and secondly, the actual measure to be taken for the safe custody of the prisoners while under detention.

Even if it be conceded as perhaps it may, that the Kuka sect under Baluk Singh and at first under Ram Singh was a purely religious one, it is yet apparent that it long since assumed a political character. It is not very clear when the change took place, possibly gradual, perhaps forced upon Ram Singh by his followers who, led to be zealous for the

revival of the purity of the Sikh faith, soon yearned for the revival of its political supremacy also.

I am inclined to think that Ram Singh, who appears to have been personally at least very cautious, did not give in to this feeling until his sect fell into temporary discredit on account of the inconsistent conduct of certain of his chief disciples. It would seem that about this time he released a practical moral discipline among his disciples, and that from thenceforward he turned his attention rather to increase his number, than to reform individuals. But once a political end admitted his disciples became impatient to delay ; and more or less believing on his supernatural powers and eager to gratify their personal ambition, could not understand why should delay "to take his Raj". Ram Singh on the other hand seems to have seen clearly the weakness of the movement, and that his only chance was to gain the assistance of native chiefs, and to obtain recruits in the ranks of the army and police. For both objects he seems to have made efforts and to have failed in both.

I do not think he would willingly allow his own blow to be struck, until he had a good chance of success but he was probably willing to allow the attempt actually made as an experiment to be taken advantage of if it succeeded, to be used as a means of controlling his more impatient followers if it failed.

Nevertheless there can be no doubt I think from these papers that his ultimate object and that of his whole sect was the subversion of all existing government and the establishment of his own political and religious supremacy and that the language and conduct of the entire body of leaders has been as seditious as it could well be. Ram Singh is probably to some extent a deliberate impostor for (as I am surprised to see) these papers show that his own moral character has never been good, and his shrewdness and caution still less consistent with fanaticism. Nevertheless he may to some extent be sincerely impressed with the reality of his mission as a religious reformer.

I notice that several persons are mentioned in this correspondence as active agents in seditious teaching and whom the Punjab Government have not apparently thought it necessary to arrest but one or two, as Jotha Singh of Dhapye

in the District of Sialkot, Burma Singh's deputy, seems to have gone very far. I presume the Punjab Government is watching them.

As to the place of confinement to be selected it is clear that Allahabad is for many reasons unfit for this purpose. It seems to me moreover that if possible these six men indicated as leaders, *viz.*, Lokka Singh, Sahib Singh, Jowahar Singh, Burma Singh, Kahn Singh and Mungul Singh should be like Ram Singh removed beyond the Peninsula of India proper, beyond that of all possible reach, by correspondence or otherwise of their adherents in the Punjab.

The Andamans do not probably at present offer a sufficiently secure and isolated an asylum but three might perhaps be sent to Moulmein and three to Akyab. There is I believe to be a military detachment hereafter at the later place who could afford a guard if necessary.

To the remaining five either Aseergurh or Chunar would apparently suit or might be divided between the two places. The Bombay Government formerly asked for an allowance for European officers to be incharge of political prisoners at Aseergurh. But there is now a garrison staff officer who also does civil duties, and he might be incharge if an allowance be deemed necessary Rs. 50 would be ample.

17.7.72

(Sd.) E.C. Bayley

To His Excellency the Governor General, and circulate:

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Mr. Hobhouse—I should be glad if you would look at the depositions of the witnesses against the prisoners, and give me your opinion whether there is sufficient evidence to convict them under Act of 1870.

19.7.72.

(Sd.) N—

**CASE OF THE KOOKA PRISONERS**

1. It appears to me that prisoners may be charged under several clauses of the PENAL CODE. They may be proved to have committed any of the following offences :—

- (a) Waging war, attempting to wage war or abetting such war against the Queen. For this the punishment may be death. Act XLV of 1860 Section 121.
- (b) Conspiring to commit to any of the foregoing offences, or to deprive the Queen of Her sovereignty, or to overawe the government by force. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. Act XXVII of 1869 Section 121A.
- (c) Preparing to wage war. For this punishment may be transportation for life. Act XLV of 1861 Sec. 122.
- (d) Waging war, attempting to wage war, or abetting war against an allied Asiatic power. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. Act XLV of 1861 Section 125.
- (e) Committing depredation, or preparing to do so, on the territory of any such power. For this the punishment may be imprisonment for 7 years and fine. Act XLV of 1860 Section 126.
- (f) Exciting disaffection to Government by words. For this the punishment may be transportation for life. Act XXVII of 1860 Section 124A.
- (g) Abetting any of such offences. Act XLV of 1860 Section 107, 108.

2. I take it that upon a charge of committing one of these offences, proof of acts leading directly up to another of them, would be good evidence as showing the character of principal acts. For instance, if the prisoners were charged under head (F) the direct evidence would be their speeches ; but their presence and conduct at Bhainee would be properly dwelt upon as giving point and significance to the speeches. And

so, if the charge were under any of the first five heads, the direct evidence would be the proceedings at Bhainee; but their previous speeches would be properly referred to as showing the.....of those proceedings. I am not much versed in criminal proceedings but I suppose that the prosecutor would select for prosecution the charge on which he found that the strongest evidence bore most directly and would use the other evidence for explanation.

3. With these views, I have perused the whole of the depositions given in the Appendices attached to Mr. Griffin's letter of the 24th ultimo. They were taken not quite for the present purpose and there is in them a vast quantity of mere hearsay and other loose matter which would crumble to pieces under any rigid handling. But there is a very consistent story told about the proceeding at Bhainee, which bears the appearance of truth. At all events I take the evidence as it stands. Throwing aside that which a Court of Justice would reject if offered in its present shape, I think that enough remains clearly to substantiate a charge against ten of the prisoners, under, perhaps, head (a), and certainly heads (b), (c), (d), (e), and (g), and I should select one of those heads in preference to head (f) because the direct evidence is of a more conclusive and trustworthy character, and also because it affects the whole groups of prisoners excepting one.

4. By far the most important depositions are taken by Mr. Beadon on the 16th and 19th April 1872. Appendix C No. 1. It is clear that all the prisoners except Sardar Mangal Singh were in conclave at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th of January. Many witnesses concur in stating this, and the prisoners themselves do not deny it.

Bhola Singh who was present says, "the whole ten of the Subas at Bhainee were of one mind and all without exception urged on Heera and Lehna Singh of Shikroudee to attack Maloudh." Nihal Singh says, "I was present when the Subas now in arrest counselled Hira and Lehna Singh and others to make the attack on Malodh and get arms, and then to proceed and take Kotla, and after that to attack British possessions. Bhugwana says, "I was among them in undress. Ram Singh



and the Subas said to Lehna and Hira Singh go to Kotla and Nabha and get arms and horses". Sookhoo, who appears to have been present because he says he heard a particular conversation says, "Lehna and Heera Singh of Shekroudee came last Maghi to Ram Singh and to his Subhas, who were in Durbar, and said they intended to attack Kotla. Then they would procure arms and take Nabha, Puttiala, Jind, Ferozepure and Delhi. They asked Ram Singh for help. Looka Singh assented and promised help. The rest said that the answer given by Looka Singh was theirs. Lehna Singh and Heera Singh were the leaders of the second batch. When these went off Hukma Singh and Looka Singh, Subhas, were present. I heard Heera and Lehna to tell Hurnam Singh, that they were going to take revenge for the death of Gyance Singh, (of Rai kote notoriety). Who is Hurnam brother. Hurnam and Looka Singh said "very good we will follow". Gyance Singh, I collect from another part of the evidence, was concerned in the slaughter of Butchers at Raikote and was hung for it.

5. If this evidence is maintained, it certainly proves something very like the instigation of open warfare, first against the Queen's allies and then against Herself. The open Warfare certainly commenced directly afterwards. If the same persons are found to have been threatening war previously, the case becomes very strong against them. On this point, the evidence varies very much as regards the individual prisoners. One or two witnesses appear to attribute inflammatory language to the whole eleven, [See the evidence of Bhola Singh, Deva Singh, Nihal Singh, and Sookhoo Singh (Appendix C No. 1)]. But they were hardly precise enough to be relied on.

6. Against Sahib Singh there is the evidence of Nihal Singh, Deva Singh, Partab Singh and Dowlut Ram. Appendix C No. 1.

7. Against Ram Singh there is no specific evidence of this kind.

8. Against Looka Singh there is the evidence of Deva Singh, Partab Singh and Dowlat Ram. Appendix C No. 1. There



appears to be evidence by Sardar Yeajmul Singh, though it is not made clear that he himself heard what Looka said. Appendix B No. 1.

9. Against Kahn or Nihang there is not much evidence ; that of Partab Singh and Dowlat Ram is the most specific. Appendix C No. 1. According to other witnesses Ram Singh and Lehna, he appears to have been present at a meeting when the establishment of Kooka dominion was spoken of. Appendix B.

10. Against Burma Singh there is a great quantity of evidence. See C that of Cheyt Singh. Appendix B No. 9 and of some of the witnesses examined by Mr. Miller on the 30th April 1872. Appendix E No. 1 ; and those examined by Mr. Trafford on the 19th April 1872. Appendix E No. 3.

11. Against Jowahir Singh there is the evidence of his namesake. Appendix F No. 2 and of Dowlat Ram. Appendix C No. 1.

12. Against Man Singh there is the evidence of Basawar Singh. Appendix F No. 3.

13. Against Man Singh there is the evidence of Jowahir Singh, Boodh Singh and Gulab Singh. Appendix No. 2 and 3.

14. Against Hukma Singh and Pahara Singh I find no such evidence unless Dowlat Ram is to be considered such. Appendix C No. 1.

15. S. Mungul Singh has very bad general character given him, but he is entirely free from the Bhainee conclave and its consequences. In his case, therefore, seditious language the application of which pointed complicity in that affair, gives some support. Deva and Pertab Singh speak of him as using such language. Appendix C No. 1, and so does Yeajmul Singh, on the conclusive nature of whose evidence I have before remarked. Appendix B No. 13.

16. Of course, it may turn out that some of the evidence which I treated valueless, because the witness does not depose

to his personal knowledge, is really evidence at first hand and not hearsay. Taking it as it stands I should rather think that S. Mangul Singh would escape a prosecution. Under head (F); I think that Rur Singh, Hukma Singh and Pahara Singh would escape; and that the rest would be convicted.

17. The character of the language attributed to the various persons does not vary very materially. It is to the effect the British Raj will soon be suppressed in favour of a Kooka or a Khalsa Raj and that Kookas will then receive rewards.

18. I do not know at all accurately Geographical and political position of several of the places mentioned. From what has already passed, I have assumed that the acts done and the persons whom they were aimed at, are so placed as to bring each case within the scope of the Penal Code.

19. The foregoing examination of the evidence must not be taken for more than it is worth. If any practical measure is to turn upon the probabilities of these prisoners being convicted of any crime, it will be prudent to take the advice of Counsel actually practising in criminal business.

A.H.

22/7/72

### **Circulate**

The question is whether these men are to be tried according to the Code or treated as Ram Singh has been under the Regulations III of 1818. I presume this depends upon the probable effect of the public trial upon this. It is, I think, necessary to consult the Punjab Government.

Sd,

N. 22/7/72

I think the course proposed by His Excellency should be followed. H.W.N. 23.7.72.

I quite agree that the Punjab Government must be asked its opinion, but I should be disposed in writing other to say

that if the political objection to a public trial can be got over which might be possible by holding the trial in some districts where there are no Kookas there would be very great advantage in carrying a trial in ordinary way of those prisoners, of whose conviction there can be no reasonable doubt.

J.S.

24/7/72

I would refer to the Punjab Government for opinion. My own at present is against trial. The notoriety of the things will tempt barristers to try and make a reputation. Native witnesses are uncertain and a failure would do indefinite mischief. All would be mischievous if released, but if the worst only are tried and convicted what would be done with others. They must be released.

Sd.

N.

25/7/72

(Governor General)

I am against trial if it can be avoided. I say this with great regret but there is no overlooking the fact that whenever a trial for political crimes takes place there are unhappily found English Barristers who not content with justly defending their clients (which is quite right) go beyond all legitimate bounds, and raise a sort of political excitement, very detrimental to the minds of native people. Still sooner than let proved criminal go free, I would face the evils of a prosecution.

Sd.

R.T

27/2/72.

Sd.

K.C.D.

25/7/72

**(DOCUMENT 18A)***No. 1460—Dated Simla the 7th August 1872.**From*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.  
 Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

The paper connected with Mr. James Macnabb's enquiry into the cases of the Kuka Sirdars, who are now confined in the fort at Allahabad, having been laid before His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, with your letter No. 2217, dated 24th of June, I am directed to request that His Honor the Lieutenant Governor will favour His Excellency with his opinion as to whether the prisoners or any of them should not rather be brought to trial for specific offences, than kept in confinement as political prisoners.

2. It appears to His Excellency these men have been guilty of grave crimes against the state, and if that the evidence given in Mr. Macnabb's report can be produced in courts, and if there are no strong political objections to a public trial which might be held in some district where there are no Kukas: there would be great advantage in bringing to trial in the ordinary way those of their number as to whose conviction there can, on the evidence, be no reasonable doubt.

**(DOCUMENT 18B)***No. 47, dated Simla, the 19th August 1872.**From*

The Government of India.

*To*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

In our despatch of the 15th March last, No. 17, reporting the deportation to Rangoon of Ram Singh, the Kuka leader, we intimated that, before determining on the course to be pursued towards his subahs (lieutenants), we would await the

result of an enquiry that we had suggested should be instituted as to the degree of guilt attaching to each of the men detained and as to the expediency or otherwise of releasing him.

2. The enquiry was entrusted by the Punjab Government to Mr. James Macnabb, of the Civil Service, and we now enclose, for Your Grace's information, a copy of report, and of its appendices, together with a copy of the letter of the Punjab Government, under cover of which those documents were received. (No. 2217, dated 24th June 1872).

3. After carefully examining into the exact degree of guilt attaching to each of the eleven subahs under detention, and the extent of danger to be apprehended from each, Mr. Macnabb recommended the banishment for life of some, and the detention in custody of others for periods varying from ten years to one year.

4. The Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, while concurring generally in Mr. Macnabb's conclusions, did not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to the degrees of danger or guilt. His Honor considered that the release of the prisoners ought to be made to depend upon the state of feeling in the Punjab, and the previous assent of the Local Government.

5. We have carefully considered Mr. Macnabb's report, and the evidence he has collected against the prisoners. It appears to us that these men have been guilty of grave crimes against the State, and that there would be great advantage in bringing to trial on specific charges those of their number as to whose conviction there can be no reasonable doubt, instead of detaining them in confinement as political prisoners. With this view we have requested an expression of the opinion of the Punjab Government on the subject,\* and we await the Lieutenant-Governor's reply before determining upon the course to be pursued in regard to these men.

6. We report these proceedings, though they are incomplete, as we are desirous of keeping Your Grace informed of them. The result of our reference to the Punjab Government will be duly reported.

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\*Letter to Punjab No. 1460, dated 7th August 1872 (copy enclosed).

**(DOCUMENT 19)***Home Dept. (Judicial)**No. 364 S, dated Simla, the 30th September 1872.**From*

L. Griffin, Esq.,  
 Offg. Secy. to the Government of the Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
 Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.

I am desired to reply to your letter No. 1460, dated the 7th August, and subsequent reminder, requesting that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor would favour His Excellency the Governor General in Council with his opinion as to whether the Kuka prisoners now confined in the Allahabad jail, or any of them, might not rather be brought to trial for specific offences than kept in confinement as political prisoners.

2. In reply, I am directed to forward the letters marginally noted from district officers in the Punjab, before whom

Dated 22nd September 1872, from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana. the depositions upon which any prosecution must depend were taken,

Dated 23rd September 1872, from the Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur. for the information of

No. 737 dated 23rd September, from Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot. His Excellency.

No. 715, dated 23rd September, from the Deputy Commissioner of Gujranwala.

These depositions are already with you, having accompanied as appendices my No. 2217, dated 24th of June, on the subject of Mr. James Macnabb's enquiry at Allahabad.

3. The opinion of His Honor on the point referred is as follows :

In the majority of cases the depositions of Police Officers, village headmen, and witnesses not belonging to the Kuka creed would be adhered to in the court, as these classes have

no sympathy with the Kuka movement. But a trial at a distant place, long after the original depositions had been given, would very likely introduce discrepancies and contradictions into the evidence of which the defence would take full advantage in cross examination.

4. The evidence of Kuka witness is not to be relied upon, when their co-religionists are upon their trial; without denying their former statements they would probably endeavour to give a different complexion to facts in favour of the prisoners, and explain away everything suspicious. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the whole, is of opinion that the case against all the Kuka prisoners is so strong that convictions would be obtained even where some of the witnesses break down.

5. His Honor would, however, desire to express his very strong and decided opinion against the policy of any State prosecution of Kuka prisoners. The concurrent testimony of those officials and non-officials, European and Native, most competent to form a reliable opinion is, that the Kuka sect, since the removal of its leaders from the Punjab, has fallen into disrepute, and that the excited and dangerous feeling which existed in many districts during the past years, and at the commencement of the present year, is rapidly subsiding, and may reasonably be hoped soon to become extinct.

To bring the Kuka leaders to open trial would, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, have a most disquieting effect. The prisoners would doubtless be defended by counsels; subscription would be raised on their behalf; in the eyes of the influential Natives, who have in the interest of order approved the action taken against the leaders,—the Government rather than the Kukas—would be upon its defence; the angry and bitter feelings, now in great part allayed, would be revived, and an acquittal, which in some cases, however strong the evidence, cannot be considered impossible, would have a very undesirable effect.

6. The Lieutenant-Governor would further observe that the procedure of regulation III of 1818 seems to suit the case

of the Kuka leaders better than the formal procedure of the Courts.

As a matter of equity these men deserve no sympathy and the evidence, whatever the opinion of the courts of law, is overwhelmingly against them. For years they have preached sedition and intrigued against the Government. Yet no vindictive measures are desired, and when all danger from the Kuka sect has passed away, and when the Government, with due consideration for the public safety, can decide that the leaders should be released. His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor will be quite prepared to submit a recommendation to such effect to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council this procedure, even in the interests of these misguided men, is preferable to a former trial, in which conviction would probably involve transportation for life; and, since the Lieutenant-Governor believes entirely that the best policy of the Government will be in following the procedure hitherto observed regarding them, he trusts that His Excellency in Council will approve the opinion which, after the most careful consideration, he has formed.

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### **Appendix Document (19A)**

*Dated Sialkot, the 23rd September 1872.*

*From*

R.W. Trafford, Esq.,  
Offg. Deputy Commissioner, Sialkot.

*To*

C.M. Rivaz, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

With reference to your letter No. 315 S, dated 20th September, I have to state my belief that the witnesses referred to would not go back in open court from their previous statements. It is probably known in their villages that they have



given such evidence. They are for the most part persons connected with Government, as Zaildars and Lumberdars, who would have nothing to gain by unsaying what they have already stated.

In my opinion it would not be advisable to bring the Kukas at Allahabad to open trial. This district is at present quiet and contended. If matters are left as they are, the Kuka missionaries being kept out of the way, and a careful watch kept on those Kukas living peaceably, I think that in time the movement may die out and be forgotten. A public trial would give prominence and importance to a conspiracy which has already fallen into disrepute. It might also afford an opportunity for eccentric forces display. Funds would probably be collected for the defence of the accused, and the court made an arena for an unseemly conflict with Government before its own officers.

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**(DOCUMENT 19B)**

*Dated Ferozepur, the 23rd September 1872.*

*From*

R.T. Burney, Esq.,  
Offg. Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepur.

*To*

C.M. Rivaz, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Government of Punjab.

I have the honor to state, in reply to your letter No. 3168, dated the 20th instant, that of the witnesses examined by Mr. Rivaz and myself, Mehtab Singh of Boorj Humeera, Gurdit Singh of Lohara, Nidhana of Lopoo, Sudha Singh of Budnee, Golab Singh of Himmutpura, are said to be men who are likely to adhere to their depositions.

The Kukas appear to be much depressed at present ; but, supposing that satisfactory evidence could be procured against the prisoners at Allahabad, I think that it would be advisable to punish them and stamp out for ever all vestiges of the sect.

**(DOCUMENT 19C)**

*No. 715, dated Gujaranwala, the 23rd September 1872*

*From*

Major F. J. Millar,  
Duputy Commissioner of Gujaranwala.

*To*

C.M. Rivaz, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 3125, dated 20th September, in reply to state :—

1st—that I am very doubtful whether the deposition taken by me on the 20th and 30th April and 22nd May last, in regard to the conduct of the Kukas Subah, will be adhered to in open court.

My reason for thinking so is, that some little time ago certain persons gave positive information to the Police regarding sedition said to have been preached openly by a Wahabee Moulvie in this district, and when I called them up they give a different colour to their statement, changing one of the expressions entirely. I was satisfied in my own mind that the police report was substantially correct and that these men got frightened at the idea of a judicial enquiry, so acted as to lessen the risk of the Moulvie being brought to open trial and to conviction on their evidence.

2nd—I consider it advisable to bring the Kuka prisoners at Allahabad to trial only if the Government is quite convinced that a conviction would be the inevitable result. Their acquittal after a formal trial would, I think, have very prejudicial effect.

In connection, I am of opinion that, notwithstanding their condemnation of some of the Kukas' acts, the orthodox Sikhs still look upon them as brethren and entitled to certain amount of sympathy and support.

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**(DOCUMENT 19D)**

*Dated Lndhiana, the 22nd September 1872.*

*From*

Captain C. Beadon,  
Offg. Duputy Commissioner of Ludhiana.

*To*

C.N. Rivaz, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of Punjab.

I have the honor to reply to your No. 312 S of the 20th instant, as follows :

- (1) The depositions taken by [me] would certainly be adhered to in open court.
- (2) If the evidence against the Kuka Subahs is considered sufficient to secure a criminal conviction, and a sentence of transportation for a long period, I am of opinion that it is most advisable to bring them to an open trial. But if not, they should nevertheless be banished and confined on political grounds.

Since the expatriation of Ram Singh and his Subahs we have enjoyed perfect quiet, and I have reason to know that many Kukas have recanted. Let us not, therefore, under any circumstances commit the fatal error of allowing such firebrands as these Subahs have proved themselves to go at large. It is my private opinion that in another ten years Kukaism, wanting a recognised head, will die a natural death.

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**(DOCUMENT 20)**

*No. 1045, dated Simla, the 12th June, 1872.*

*From*

E.C. Bayley, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Secy. to the Government of India.

*To*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter No. 200-53 P, dated the 13th April, last, relative to the provision of appropriate accommodation for the Kuka Chief Ram Singh and the adjustment of the charges incidental to his detention in British Burma.

In reply I am desired to State that the recommendation made in paragraph 5 for locating Ram Singh in the Cantonment Post Office Building, is approved, and you are requested to submit an estimate of the expense which will be incurred in the necessary repairs. The purchase of a pony carriage for outdoor exercise as suggested in paragraph 6 cannot be sanctioned, but I am to observe that if such exercise is considered absolutely requisite by the medical authorities, a carriage can be occasionally hired for the purpose.

(3) As regards the adjustment of the charges connected with Ram Singh's maintenance, I am desired to forward for your information and guidance a copy of a Resolution from the Financial Department No. 3458, dated the 14th ultimo.

**Resolution.** In the opinion of this Department the best plan of adjustment would be to add the actual cost of Ram Singh's imprisonment to the Burmah Provincial Service Grant for each year. Orders to this effect can be issued on the amount of actual cost being reported to this Department.

**Order.** Ordered, that a copy of the above be forwarded to the Home Department, and that the original papers received from that Department be returned.

(True Extract)

R.H. Hollingbery,  
Asst. Secy. to the Govt. of India, Finl. Dept.

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**(DOCUMENT 20A)**

*No. 341-53, dated the 12th July 1872.*  
No. 3306

*From*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

*To*

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burmah

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward the accompanying extract (Paragraphs 1 and 2) of a letter No. 1045, dated the 12th ultimo from the Government of India in the Home Department, respecting the future location of State Prisoner Ram Singh.

2. The Chief Commissioner requests that you will, in conjunction with the Inspector General of Police and the Chief Engineer, be so good as to submit a joint report as to the measures necessary for the purpose of carrying into effect the orders of the Government of India.

3. The Chief Commissioner desires that your report should indicate all the measures that you consider necessary for providing for the safe security of the prisoner, and the entire stoppage of all communication with parties outside the place of confinement ; as well as for arranging for the diet and due care of Ram Singh, and the best means of guarding him, whether by Police or a Military Guard.

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**(DOCUMENT 20B)***No. 659, dated the 16th July 1872.**From*

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burmah

*To*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

I have the honor to forward herewith a letter addressed to the Chief Commissioner from the State Prisoner Ram Singh ; at the same time I beg to report for the Chief Commissioner's information that Ram Singh is very ill at present with acute dysentery.

I have called for a full report regarding his general treatment. I saw him yesterday morning, and he appeared to have everything he wanted.

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**(DOCUMENT 20C)***No. 352-53, dated the 17th July 1872.**From*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

*To*

The Chief Insp. of Post Offices in British Burmah.

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to inform you that the Cantonment Post Office is immediately required, under the orders of the Government of India, for the accommodation of Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief, and to request that you will arrange to vacate it as speedily as possible.

I am also to ask if a pillar post will not meet all the requirements of the Cantonment, and in the meantime I am to request that you will arrange with Captain Evanson for placing the Post Office in the Cantonment Court House.

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**(DOCUMENT 20D)**

*No. 354-53, dated the 17th July 1872.*

*From*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

*To*

The Insp. General of Prisons, British Burmah.

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 659, dated the 16th instant, representing that Ram Singh, the Kuka Chief has been attacked with dysentery.

2. In reply I am to request that you will, in conjunction with Dr. Griffiths, prepare a full report on the health of Ram Singh, and to ask if you have any suggestion to offer respecting his treatment.

3. If an airing is considered to be desirable, Ram Singh may be taken out of the Jail in a carriage, provided he is placed under proper charge.

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**Report on the State of Ram Singh's health.**

We have examined Ram Singh carefully on several occasions; he is suffering from dysentery, which, per se, does not appear to be of a bad form, but he is depressed and anxious to be removed from the Jail. The building set apart for him is sufficiently well ventilated and cool, and has Venetian shutters to the windows.

It is a two-storied building in a large compound entirely separate from the rest of Jail, furnished with tables, chairs, cots, punka, and everything requisite to make him comfortable, or for which he has expressed a wish; but the fact of his being confined inside the criminal Jail depresses and worries him, and is probably the cause of his evident wish to make himself appear to be worse than he is. We would, therefore, recommend that he be moved to some place outside the Jail

as soon as practicable, food and medical treatment are suitable.

We do not consider carriage exercise would be advisable in his present state of health.

W.P. Kelly,  
Insp. Genl. of Prisons, British Burmah.  
H. Griffiths, Civil Surgeon,  
In Medical charge, Rangoon Central Jail.

The 20th July 1872.

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NO ORDERS

**(DOCUMENT 20E)**

*No. 376-53, dated Rangoon, the 26th July 1872.*

*From*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.

In continuation of this office letter No. 359-53P, dated the 18th instant, I am directed by the officiating Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a copy of a joint medical report on the state of Ram Singh's health prepared by Dr. Kelly, the Inspector General of Prisons, and Dr. Griffiths, the Civil Surgeon, who is in medical charge of the Rangoon Central Jail.

2. The Officiating Chief Commissioner desires me to say that arrangements are being made for removing Ram Singh as such as possible to the building recently occupied as the Cantonment Post Office.



**(DOCUMENT 21)**

*Memo No. 247, dated Lahore, 17th June, 1872.*

*To*

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Kukas showing signs of activity. The District Superintendent of Police Jullundur reports unusual activity amongst the Kukas under pretence of marriage processions.

2. Requests he will warn all District Superintendents to keep Deputy Commissioners and this Office fully informed of all that is going on amongst the Kukas.

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**(DOCUMENT 22)**

**Writing on the cover**

Translation of Letter despatched from Rangoon, to be delivered to Gopal Singh and Budh Singh at Bheni, Thanah Sahnewal, Ludianah District.

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Written by Ram Singh and Nanun Singh, to Bhai Gopal Singh and Budh Singh.

Greeting to all the members of my Brotherhood, and Ramsat (form of greeting to women) to Bibi Nandan.

Physically I am well. The Government supplies us with food and raiment. But the fire of separation greatly burns me. We are four and a half day's journey from Calcutta. The town is called Rangoon. It is a seaport. Write to me how the "Bara Baba" is getting on. Is he dead? Our

reliance is on the Guru alone, who has ordained our present bad luck. Tell us every thing at yourself. Also say whether the Government has released the whole of the property which it had seized or has retained any part of it.

Have the Raipur and Sadhaura people, and any of Kahin Singh's party been released ? and where are they ?

You should both (Gopal Singh and Budh Singh) live together amicably. It is the lot of the mortal Beings to meet and separate.

Any buffalos, bulls or cows, which you may get as a religious offering, dispose of in the name of the Guru. Do not keep them. Make Nandan comfortable—

Direct your letter to me, thus—

*To*

Ram Singh, Rangoon,  
Jail Office  
Care of Superintendent.

Write the address both in Gurmukhi and English characters.

Write also regarding Nanun Singh's family. Send with your own, a letter written in the hand of Nanun Singh's uncle, from Rurki, giving an account of Nanun Singh's family. Write also an account of the Satguru, and whether all is well at Hazro, or not ? Write fully about every thing.

Have the Granth Sahib read for my welfare. Also distribute alms for my benefit. Pray to God.

Tell Bholi there is no probability of her getting back money from Chando ; so she had better regard it as having been given away in charity to Chando for the benefit of Bholi.

Let Budh Singh and Nandan live in my room, which should not be left unoccupied.

Well : Heaven's will is done.

Be sure to write, and do not forget to give an account of Nanun Singh's family.

Dated Har Badi 4th, 1929S  
(24th June 1872).

P.S.

Suspercribe your covers to me as follows :—

Letter to be delivered to Ram Singh,

Rangoon Jail office of the Superintendent.

The Susperscription should be both in Gurmukhi and English.

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**(DOCUMENT 22 A)**

*No. 347-53P, dated Rangoon,  
the 15th July 1872.*

*From :—*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq. ;  
Secretary to the Chief  
Commissioner of British Burmah

*To*

C.U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Foreign Department.

I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to forward, for the orders of the Government of India, a sealed letter from State Prisoner Ram Singh to the Address of Gopal Singh in the Punjab.

**(DOCUMENT 22 B)**

*No. 1629, dated Simla, the  
29th August 1872.*

*From*

H.W. Wellesley, Esq., Offg.  
Under Secy. to the Govt. of India.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of the Punjab.

With reference to the accompanying copy of a letter from the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, No. 347-53P, dated the 15th ultimo, giving cover to a sealed letter from the Kooka State Prisoner Ram Singh to the address of one Gopaul Singh in the Punjab. I am directed to request that it may be stated whether His Honor has any objection to the letter being forwarded to its destination.

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**(DOCUMENT 22 C)**

*No. 2950, dated Simla, 4th Sept. 1872.*

*From*

L. H. Griffin, Esq. Offg.  
Secretary to the Govt. of the  
Punjab.

*To*

H. L. Dampier, Esq., Offg.  
Secy. to the Govt. of India.

In reply to letter No. 1629, dated 29th August, enquiring whether His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has any objec-

tion to a sealed letter being given to Gopal Singh from the Kooka State Prisoner Ram Singh, I am directed to state that the Lieutenant Governor considers that there is a very strong objection to forwarding such a letter to its destination.

2. Even in the case of unsealed letters containing nothing of any political significance, the Lieutenant Governor thinks that at present it is unadvisable to permit any communication whatever between the Kuka leader and his friends in the Punjab.

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**(DOCUMENT 22 D)**

*No. 1750, dated Simla, the 17th September, 1872.*

*From*

H.W. Wellesley, Esq.  
Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of  
India.

*To*

The Chief Commissioner  
of British Burmah.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 347-53p, dated 15th July last, forwarding a sealed letter from State Prisoner Ram Singh for delivery to one Gopaul Singh in the Punjab.

2. In reply, I am desired to say that the Governor General in Council considers that there are very grave objections to forwarding such a letter to its destination. Even in case of the unsealed letters containing nothing of any political significance, His Excellency in Council thinks that at present it is unadvisable to permit any communication whatever between the Kooka leader and his friends in the Punjab.

I am accordingly desired to return the cover.

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**(DOCUMENT 22 E)***Simla, 13th August, 1872*

My dear Dampier,

I send you the translation of the letter from Ram Singh which appears to be of a very harmless description at the same time the letter or letters which have been before received direct from Ram Singh while at Allahabad were not forwarded to the addressees for the reason that the Lieutenant Governor considered it best that all connection between Ram Singh and the Punjab should be severed.

Sd/- Griffin

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**(DOCUMENT 23)***No. 1178, dated Simla, the 2nd July, 1872.*

*From*

L. H. Dampier, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Off. Secretary to the Govt.  
of India.

*To*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Govt.  
of the Punjab.

I am directed by the Governor General in Council to draw the attention of His Honor the Lt. Governor to the Indian Public Opinion of the 21st ultimo and also to the Pioneer of the 25th idem, both of which papers contain a copy of the letter from the Maharajah of Patiala to your address, dated 15th February on the subject of the Kookas.

2. The Governor General in Council requests that the Lt. Governor would be good enough to cause it to be ascertained, if possible, how the letter in question was communicated to the public prints and to report the result of his enquiries.

**(DOCUMENT 23 A)**

*No. 73S, dated Simla, the 9th July, 1872.*

*From*

L. H. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt.  
of the Punjab.

*To*

H. L. Dampier, Esq :  
Offg; Secy. to the  
Govt. of India.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1178, dated 2nd July, drawing the attention of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor to Indian Public Opinion of the 21st ultimo, and the Pioneer of the 25th, both of which papers have a copy of the Maharajah of Patiala's letter addressed to my address, dated 15th ultimo on the subject of the Kookas and requesting that it may, if possible, be ascertained how the letter was communicated to the press.

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**(DOCUMENT 23 B)**

*Dated the 27th June, 1872.*

*From*

P. SCOTT, Esq.,  
Editor Indian Public Opinion.

*To*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt.  
of the Punjab.

The copy of the Maharaja's letter, as I received, is superscribed simply as published. Your name does not appear. Copies of letter were in the hands of a number of persons both

here and in England before I ventured to publish it, I obtained my copy through a legitimate channel, and there was nothing in the address or contents of the letter, to indicate that it was a private and confidential note to yourself. It purported to be one of the documents which were to guide the Government in forming their opinion on the case, and, as such would be highly interesting to the public.

Above all, there was nothing in it or its publication derogatory to the honor either of the Maharajah, the Punjab Government, or yourself ; and, seeing that it did not appear to be a private letter, but merely an unpublished official paper, I could see no reason why we should not benefit by it as news." It would also be useful to us in enabling the public and "firstour contemporaries to distinguish between the real sentiments of the Maharajah as first announced by us, and the denial—a very proper one it appears—which he recently gave to some erroneous statements which had appeared in the *Indian Public Opinion*—a denial which had produced a certain impression that all we had said about him was unfounded, and that his opinion on the Maler Kotla case was the reverse of favourable to the British Officers concerned.

The Maharajah has not to my knowledge given any special permission to publish the letter, but the fact of copies being in hands of others, in the State and out of it, shows that, by him at least, it was not considered of absolutely private character which is your impression of it.

I am sorry to perceive that you are annoyed by its publication, for there is nothing in it of a secret nature,—nothing but honest, straight forward expression of opinion from one whose opinion on the subject of his letter must be of the greatest importance.

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**(DOCUMENT 23 C)**

*No. 1701, dated Simla, the 6th September 1872,*

*From*

H. WELLESLEY, Esq.,  
Offg. Unper Secy.  
to the Govt. of India.

*To*

L.H. GRIFFIN, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the  
Govt. of Punjab.

With reference to the 3rd paragraph of your letter No. 73, S, dated 9th July last, I am directed to request that, with the permission of the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor, you will be good enough to state the result of the enquiry as to whether the letter from the Maharja of Patiala to your address therein mentioned was published with the consent of His Highness.

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**(DOCUMENT 24)**

*No. 281 S, dated Simla, the 14th September, 1872.*

*From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt.  
of India.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt.  
of India.

I am directed to acknowledge your letter No. 1701, dated 6th September, enquiring the result of the enquiry as to whether the letter to my address of the Maharajah of Patiala, which has formed the subject of correspondence with your Office, was published with the consent of His Highness.

2. The Maharajah has informed the Lieutenant Governor that the letter in question was not published with his sanction

or knowledge, but that the suspects a copy was taken by a clerk who was employed in the English work of the Patiala Office, but who has since left His Highness's service.

## NO ORDERS

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### (DOCUMENT 25)

#### Kuka Disturbances

*No. 32, dated India Office, London, the 18th July, 1872.*

*From*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

*To*

The Government of India.

The despatch of Your Excellency's predecessor in Council, dated 2nd May, No. 28 of 1872 relative to the Kuka disturbances, has been most carefully considered by me in Council.

2. In that despatch Lord Napier in Council stated that, after a full consideration of the circumstances connected with outbreak and its suppression, he had felt it his duty to dismiss Mr. Cowan from the service of Government, and to remove Mr. Forsyth to another appointment in Oudh.

3. I have to express to you my concurrence on the principles laid down by the Government of India as applicable to this most painful case, and my entire approval of the dismissal of Mr. Cowan from the public service, and likewise of the orders which you have issued in respect to Mr. Forsyth.

4. In consideration of his previous services, I approve of grant to Mr. Cowan of a pension of Rupees 300 per mensem, as proposed in the Financial Despatch of Lord Napier in Council dated 3rd May, No. 151 A of 1872.

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**(DOCUMENT 26)**

*Dated the 27th July, 1872*

*From*

T.W. Smyth, Esq.,  
Offg. Depy. Commr., Amritsar.

*To*

The Commr. and Supdt.  
Amritsar Division.

This evening's Pioneer mentions amongst its telegraphic news that "the Kukas are giving trouble between Amritsar and Hushiarpur". I have not heard of anything of the kind, and I wonder where the Pioneer could have obtained its information.

Rajah Sahib Dyal told me this morning that the Kukas were at present *sust*, and all my information derived from official and non-official sources is to the same effect. The District Superintendent of Police has had no intimation of any thing of the kind, and he ought to know if anything is going on as he has scouts all over the District.

Would it be necessary to tell the authorities at Simla that there is no foundation for the telegram as far as Amritsar is concerned.

(Confidential)

Police Report, Hushiarpur District, dated the 27th July, 1872.

Nothing particular to report. All quiet. The Kukas are being watched. There are some individual movements which are being carefully noted ; there is nothing suspicious regarding them, so far as is known, up to date ; there is no foundation for the Pioneer telegram dated 25th July, Simla that the sect were giving trouble between this and Amritsar.

My dear Griffin,—I meant to have sent this on two days ago, and it escaped me:

The 30th July 1872.

R. TAYLOR

NO ORDERS

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**(DOCUMENT 27)**

Information regarding the Kukas.

*No. 149 S, dated Simla, the 5th August 182. No. 1274.*

*From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq., Offg.

Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,

Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.

In reply to your No. 1418 dated the 2nd instance stating that the Governor General in Council has been given to understand that His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor has recently received certain communications regarding the Kukas in the Amritsar District, and requesting that the correspondence may be submitted for His Excellency's information, I am desired to observe that His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General may be assured that, had any information of interest or importance reached this Government on the subject of the Kukas, it would have been at once communicated to the Government of India,—such has hitherto been the invariable practice.

2. The reason that nothing has lately been communicated is that there has been nothing to report, and the information, which His Excellency has received as to the communications received by the Lieutenant-Governor, must have been mistaken so far as communications of any importance are concerned.

3. I am directed to forward, with reference to some entirely unfounded statements in the Pioneer Newspaper, a demi-official letter from Major-General Reynell Taylor, C.B., C.S.I., Commissioner of Amritsar, to my address, forwarding a letter of Mr. Smyth, the Deputy Commissioner, also the confidential Police Report of the Hushiarpur District, dated 27th July.

4. It was reported a short time back that 100 Kukas had assembled in the Gurdaspur District. This was not communicated to the Government of India, as instant enquiry proved the story to be false. Any reliable information of interest will be as heretofore at once communicated.

**(DOCUMENT 28)**

Advance of Rupees 100 to the Kooka leader Ram Singh.

*Telegram dated Rangoon, the 1st August, 1872.*

*From*

Chief Commissioner Rangoon.

*To*

Government of India, \*Simla.

Has Government of India any funds in hand belonging to Ram Singh, if so, I will advance him rupees one hundred for which he has applied.

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**(DOCUMENT 28A)**

*[Telegram dated Simla, the 8th August, 1872.]*

*From*

H.W. WELLESLY, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secretary to the  
Government of India.

*To*

The Chief Commissioner,  
British Burmah.

Advance one hundred rupees to Ram Singh, if satisfied that it is required for legitimate purpose.

No. 1446.  
Copy by Post

With a request that it may be ascertained and reported how Ram Singh wishes the advance to be recovered.

No. 1447,  
dated Simla,  
the 5th August, 1872.

**(DOCUMENT 28 B)***From*

H.W. WELLESLEY, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to the  
Government of India.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of the Punjab.

I am desired to state for the information of the Honble the Lieutenant Governor, that, at the instance of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, the Governor General in Council has sanctioned an advance of Rupees 100 to be made to the Kooka Leader Ram Singh, and I am to request that arrangements may be made to recover the same if any funds belonging to him are available.

2. The Chief Commissioner meanwhile has been requested to ascertain and report how Ram Singh proposed to adjust the advance made to him.

No. 1448.

Copy to Financial  
Commissioner for information.

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**(DOCUMENT 28 C)**

*Memorandum No. 288, dated the 6th Sept., 1872.*

With reference to his No. 1278, dated 23rd Aug., undersigned has the honor to report that there is at present in the Ludhiana Government Treasury property belonging to the Kuka leader Ram Singh, to the value of about Rupees 4,500. Of this Rupees 1,828-8 is in cash of various currencies, principally British.

C. Beadon, Captain,  
Deputy Commr., Ludhiana.

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**(DOCUMENT 28 D)**

*No. 1932, dated Simla, the 17th Oct., 1872.*

*To*

The Commr., and Supdt.,  
Ambala Division.  
Endorsed by the Home Dept.

Copy forwarded to the Chief Commissioner, British  
Burmah, for information, with reference to his telegram dated  
the 1st Aug. last.

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**(DOCUMENT 28 E)**

Home Dept. (Jud) Prog Oct. 1872 No. 169.

*No. 297 S, dated Simla the 18th Sept. 1872.*

*From*

H. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the  
Government of the Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Secy. to the  
Government of India.

With reference to your letter No. 1447, dated 5th August,  
requesting recovery of rupees 100 advanced to Ram Singh by  
Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, I am desired to forward  
a copy of letter No. 288, dated 6th current, from the Deputy  
Commissioner of Ludhiana reporting the amount of property  
belonging to Ram Singh now in that treasury. The Deputy  
Commissioner has been directed to remit to Burmah the  
amount of the advance made by the Chief Commissioner.

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**(DOCUMENT 28 F)**

Home Dept. (Judl.) Nov. 1872. No. 121.

*No. 546-53P, dated Rangoon, the 15th Nov. 1872.*

*From*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commissioner,  
British Burmah.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the  
Government of India.

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your reminder No. 1989, dated the 29th ultimo, inviting attention to your communication, No. 1446 of the 5th of Aug. last requesting a report as to how the advance of Rupees 100 made to Ram Singh was to be recovered.

2. In reply, I am to refer you to Home Dept. endorsement No. 1932, dated 17th Oct. 1872, and to state, for the information of the Government of India, that the sum of Rupees 100 has been received from the Offg. Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana, in adjustment of the amount advanced by the Chief Commissioner to Ram Singh.

No orders.

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**(DOCUMENT 29)**

Government Punjab  
(Home Department)  
(Confidential) Circular No. 279 C.

*Dated 28th August, 1872.*

*From*

The Secretary to Government Punjab

*To*

The Inspector General of Police,  
Punjab.

Information has reached the Government that there are indications of reviving energy amongst the Kuka Sect.

2. A Meeting of some 25 Kukas, with representations from Ferozepur Sirsa and Ludhiana has been reported by the Maharaja of Patiala at having taken place as Chuk-Lanki Khurd in Patiala territory. Another has been reported at Dipalpur, in the Montgomery District; and the Deputy Commissioner Ludhiana reports that in his district Kukas have been leaving their villages and moving about from place to place; and that on several occasions, gatherings of 25 or more have taken place; one in particular in the village of Raipur where the "Chandi-Ka-Pat" was read and the ceremony of "Hom" performed.

3. The later points are important, because the ceremony of "Hom" though frequently performed in families who desire the attainment of some object, as for instance on the occurrence of drought or pestilence is only on rare occasions performed by bodies of men other than families; so that performance of this rite by gatherings of men at a season when there is no famine or pestilence may be of some significance.

Again, it is to be remarked that the goddess Chandi, whose name is said to have been specially invoked at the Raipur meeting, is the goddess specially invoked by Guru Govind Singh, who invoked her before he organized the Sikh fraternity, and is believed by Sikhs to be the genuine through whose influence he obtained his power and success.

4. Under these circumstances, the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor desires that you will impress upon your district officers the necessity for vigilance, and request that Police to vigilant & they will promptly report direct to this report promptly office, as well as to yourself, any signs of movements among the Kukas in their districts and all particulars regarding meetings which may be held.

I am further to suggest that section 505 of the code of Crim. Pro., be rigorously enforced in regard to all Kukas who may be found under circumstances which justify the conclusion that they are dangerous characters; and that, if possible, section 518, empowering magistrates by written order to direct any person to abstain from acts likely to occasion risk or injury to persons lawfully employed, or of danger to human life, or of riot, may be brought to bear upon Kukas believed to be likely to take part in gatherings of the nature described above.

5. It would be well also. His Honor considers that all head men of villages or zails in which noted Kukas are known to reside be furnished with a translation of section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, having reference to attempts to excite disaffection, and of section 89 of the code of Crim. Pro. requiring all person to give information of certain offences, including the offence specified in section 124-A above quoted, and reminding them of their duty to furnish prompt information of any proceedings of the Kuka Sect of such character.

Zaildors & Lambardors  
to be reminded of their  
public duty.

**(DOCUMENT 30)**

*No. 221S, dated Simla, the 26th August 1872*

*From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy, to the Govt.  
of the Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt.  
of India.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 1454, dated 6th August, in which it is asked that it may be ascertained and reported how a letter from this office to the address of the Government of India, Home Department, No, 36 C, dated 26th January last, on the subject of the late Kuka outbreak, was communicated to the Bombay Gazette,

2. In reply, I am to observe that by direction of the Lieutenant Governor a copy of this letter was forwarded to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division, Mr. Forsyth, at the time of its despatch to the Government of India. The Lieutenant Governor presumes that Mr. Forsyth gave a copy of the same to Mr. Cowan, who probably communicated it to the Bombay Gazette. This is mere conjecture, but is probably correct.

3. Neither of these officers are at present under the orders of the Government of the Punjab, and consequently they have not been addressed on the subject.

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**(DOCUMENT 31)**

*Simla Dated 15th October, 1872*

*From*

Home Secretary

*To*

Chief Secretary,  
Government, Bombay.

What will be approximate cost of procuring proposed accommodation for Prisoners at Aseergarh and Aden respectively.

**(DOCUMENT 31 A) (Telegrams)***Simla Dated 18th Oct.**From*Political Secretary,  
Bombay.*To*

Home Secretary,

Your telegram of 15th to chief Secretary at Assergarh cooking room of Present state prisoners can be converted into one quarter and two similar quarter and cook room can be built for about rupees four hundred and fifty Aden reply will be communicated on receipt

Dated

19-10-72

My telegram of yesterday at Aden the cost of accommodation for prisoners will be under two hundred rupees.

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**(DOCUMENT 31 B)***Dated 19th Oct. 1872.**From*Home Secretary,  
Simla, 15 Oct. 1872.*To*

Chief Commissioner, Rangoon.

Tavoy will do for the 2408. Either in 3239 or outside. They are mere 3386. When can you take them in.

H. L. Dampier

**(DOCUMENT 31 C)***Dated 21-10-72.**From*

Chief Commissioner

*To*

Home Secretary,

Direct the state prisoners when you like leave name of bad blank. I will keep them either at Moulmein or Tavoy Inspector General absent but everything ready at Mo<sup>3</sup> mein jail ...? Commissioner absent.

**[(DOCUMENT 32)**

*No. 1198, dated Asseerghur, the 17th October 1872.*

*From*

Colonel St. J. O., MUTER, Commandant,  
Asseerghur.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Political Department.

WITH reference to your telegram received and my reply despatched this day, I have the honor to state that I have received no intimation of the class of prisoner's it is proposed sending to this fortress. The state-prisoners at present confined here are deposed Rajahs from the Sambalpur district, Central Provinces, and they are accommodated in small rooms with ordinary teak wood doors, the upper part being slight iron-bars. Over these prisoners, seven in number, is a loaded sentry, and they are allowed to remain in the immediate neighbourhood of their quarters under surveillance during the day, being locked up in their quarters at night. There is no wall or enclosure of any kind round the quarters of the state prisoners.

2. I beg to submit a rough estimate of the probable cost providing additional accommodation for the reception of the three state prisoners under reference, which work can be completed in about fourteen days.

3. If it will be necessary to submit to you monthly bills of the cost of subsistence, clothing, of these state prisoners, I conclude an allowance should be made as in former instances to the Fort Adjutant.

4. The establishment of servants allowed for the state prisoners now confined in this fortress are paid by the Deputy Commissioner Nimar, and unless those servants can be made available for the prisoners it is now proposed sending additional servants will be necessary.

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**(DOCUMENT 33)**

*No. 920, dated Asseerghur, the 17th October 1872.*

*From*

**R.J.B. THOMSON Esq., C.E.,**  
Assistant Engineer.

*To*

**The Fort Adjutant, Asseerghur.**

I HAVE the honor to forward, as requested in your No. 1196 of today's date, estimate of the cost of building an additional room 18 feet long between the guard-room and the state prisoners quarters for converting the present cooking room into a room similar to those now occupied, and also for erecting a cooking-room at the end of the quarters next to the main road.

2. In compliance with your verbal instructions this morning the estimate has been drawn out for one room only between the guard-room, and the prisoners' quarters, not two as requested. If two rooms are required besides the present cook-house there will be an additional outlay of about Rupees 160.

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**(DOCUMENT 33 A)****REPORT**

THREE state prisoners in addition to those already provided with quarters are expected to arrive, for whom there are no quarters available. It is proposed to make use of the present cook-room as quarters and erect another at the end of the building for cooking purposes as out plan also to enclose the space between the native guard-room and present state-prisoners quarters.

**(DOCUMENT 34)**

*Dated 18th Oct. 1872.*

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honor to advise you that I have this day forwarded to you the subjoined telegram.

“Your telegram of sixteenth. The cost of accommodation for prisoners will be under two hundred rupees.”

2. Since my telegram of the 9th instant despatched to the Chief Secretary, I have ascertained that there is a separate building in the Jail, which can easily be repaired for the reception of the Kooka prisoners who are to be sent here.

3. The building in question was erected in 1838 for the use of two Balooch chiefs\* who were sent to Aden, by Govern-

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>*1. Durga Khan, Chief of the Jullranecs.</p> <p>2. Dil. Morad Khan, Chief of the Khera tribe.</p> | <p>ment, as State prisoners, and I presume the accommodation which was considered sufficiently good for the above persons, will be large enough for the Kooka prisoners.</p> |
|--|--|

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/- .....

**(DOCUMENT 34 A)***Fort William, 1st Jan., 1872.**To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay.

*Sir,*

In reply to your letter No. 6322, dated the 31st October last, I am directed to state that the separate building in the Jail at Aden will suffice for the Kooka prisoners to be sent there.

Sd/.....

**(DOCUMENT 35)***Simla, the 31st October 1872.**From*

H.L. Dampier. Esq.  
Offg., Secretary to the Govt. of India.

*To*

The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Home Dept.  
Judicial.

*Sir,*

With reference to your telegrams dated the 18th and 24th instant, I am directed to request that, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor General in Council, orders may be issued for the preparation of accommodation for three Kuka prisoners at Aden and three at Assergurh. The estimated cost of this accommodation (viz., about Rupees 450 at Assergurh and about Rupees 200 at Aden), as reported, is sanctioned, and the charge will be adjusted hereafter.

2. As it appears from your telegram of the 14th instant that temporary accommodation is immediately available at Assergurh, the Government of the North-Western Provinces has been requested to forward the three prisoners who are to be detained at Assergurh at once, in communication with your Government.

\*Rur Singh  
Mulluk Singh  
Pahara Singh



I am accordingly to request that preparation may be made for their reception. Warrants under Regulation III of 1818, addressed to the Officer in Command at Assergur as requested in your telegram dated instant, have been forwarded to the Government North-Western Provinces to be sent to Assergurh with the prisoners. Copies herewith sent.

3. The prisoners should be kept in as close custody as is consistent with\* their health, and they should be maintained on the scale of an ordinary artizan or petty zemindar (You are requested to report the monthly allowance for each, which will be appropriate with regard to the prices ruling at Assergurh. If the prisoners desire to spend their own money in additional luxuries, they may do so at the desire of the Bombay Government.

4. The Government of the North-Western Provinces has been desired to allow one servant to accompany the prisoners, if they wish it. If a servant accompanies, and is desirous of remaining in attendance on the men, he must be as the prisoners themselves. No communication by letter should be permitted on any account to the prisoners or their attendant. The North-Western Provinces Government has been requested not to allow any servant to accompany the prisoners who has not signed a written acknowledgement to subject himself to those conditions and restrictions.

5. The three prisoners intended for Aden will be forwarded as soon as the Bombay Government reports that accommodation is ready. In sending this report it will be convenient if the designation of the officer who is to have charge of the men is given, in order that no delay may occur in preparing the warrants.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

H.L. Dampier,

Offg. Secretary to the Govt.  
of India.

No. 2003A

Copy of paragraph I of this letter forwarded to the Financial Department for information.

Sd/- H.L. Dampier,  
Offg. Secretary to the Govt.  
of India.

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**(DOCUMENT 35 A)**

SEAL

No. 50.

*To*

**THE OFFICER IN CHARGE OF THE  
ASSEERGHUR.**

Whereas the Governor General in Council for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Rur Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in Asseergarh, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the order of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III. of 1811.

By order of the Governor  
General in Council,

Sd/-...

Secy. to the Govt. of India, in the  
Home Deptt.

Simla;

*The 31st October 1872.*

**(DOCUMENT 35 B)**

SEAL

No. 51.

*To*

**THE OFFICER IN ASSEERGURH**

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Mulluk Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in Asseergurh you are hereby required and commanded, in persuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the Governor  
in Council.

Sd/-

Secy. to the Govt. of India, in the  
Home Deptt.

Simla,

*The 31st October 1872.*

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**(DOCUMENT 35 C)**

SEAL

No. 52

*To*

**The Officer in Asseergurh**

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that

Pahara Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in Asseergurh you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody. and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the ,Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the Governor General  
in Council,

Sd/...

Secy. to the Govt. of India, in the  
Home Department.

Simla,

*The 31st. Oct. 1872.*

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**(DOCUMENT 36)**

No. 2004.

*From*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government  
of India.

*To*

The Secy. of the Government  
of the N.W. Provinces.

**HOME DEPT.**

*Simla, the 31st Oct. 1872.*

**JUDICIAL.**

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 42A, dated the 8th March last, and connected papers, I am now desired to communicate the following instructions for the disposal of the Kuka State prisoners now under detention at Allahabad.

2. The prisoners Rur Singh, Mulluk Singh, and Pahara Singh should be sent to Asseergurh, in communication with the Government of Bombay.

3. Jawahir Singh, Lukka Singh, and Brahma Singh should be forwarded to Moulmein, in communication with the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

4: Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 are enclosed to be sent with the prisoners.

5. One servant may be allowed to accompany each batch of prisoners if such is the wish of the prisoners ; but before any servant is allowed to go with them, he should be distinctly made to understand that he can only do so on condition that he will formally agree to remain in the same confinement, and subject, in every respect, to the same restrictive rules as the prisoners themselves. This is necessary to prevent the possibility of the servants being employed as channels of communication with the prisoner's friends in the Punjab. If, under these conditions, any servant consents to accompany the prisoners, a written acknowledgement of the explanation conveyed to him, and of his willingness to abide by the conditions imposed, should be taken from him and forwarded to the Government of Bombay, or the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, as the case may be. To any servant who is offered the option of accompanying any of the prisoners on these conditions, but who refused to do so, it should be explained that his separation from them will be final and complete.

6. The prisoners Man Singh and Hukma Singh should be sent to Chunar ; their Warrants are enclosed. Instructions should be given for their being kept in as close custody as is consistent with their health, and they should be maintained on the scale of an ordinary artizan, or petty zemindar. You are requested to report, with reference to the prices prevailing at Chunar, what the monthly allowance for each should be. If they desire to spend their own money in additional luxuries, they may do so at the discretion of the Lieutenant-Governor.

7. The remaining three prisoners, Mungal Singh, Sahib Singh, and Kahn Singh, will remain at Allahabad pending further instructions.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
You most obedient Servant,  
Sd/- H.L. Dampier  
Offg. Secretary to the Govt.  
of India,

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**(DOCUMENT 36 A)**

SEAL

No. 55.

*To*

The Officer in Charge of the  
Chunar Fortress.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has been fit to determine that Hukma Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Chunar Fortress you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the Governor General  
in Council.

Sd/-...

Secy. to the Govt. of India, in the  
Home Department.

Simla.

*The 31st Oct. 1872.*

Seal  
No. 56

*To*

The Officer in Charge of the  
Chunar Fortress.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has been fit to determine that Man Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Chunar Fortress you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above-named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the Governor General  
in Council

Sd/-...

Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
in the Home Department.

Simla,

*The 31st Oct. 1872.*

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**(DOCUMENT 37)**

No. 2005

*From*

H. L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government of  
India.

*To*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

**HOME DEPARTMENT**

*Simla, the 31st October, 1872*

**JUDICIAL.**

Sir,

With reference to your telegram dated the 21st instant, I

am directed to state that the Government of the North-Western Provinces has been requested to send the three Kuka prisoners named in the margin to Moulmein, where they must remain for the present. Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 have been forwarded to that Government to be sent with the prisoners. The prisoners can be removed to Tavoy or elsewhere hereafter if you think it desirable, and, on your sending intimation to this Office by Telegraph, fresh Warrants will be prepared accordingly addressed to the Keeper of the places of custody in which you propose to confine them. The law requires that Warrants should be so addressed.

Jowahir Singh, Lukha Singh,  
Hukma Singh

2. The prisoners need not necessarily be placed within the jail, but they should not be treated with undue indulgence. They should be kept in as close custody as is consistent with their health. If kept in jail they must not be allowed to mix with other prisoners. They should be maintained on the scale of an ordinary artizan, or petty zemindar. You are requested to report what will be an appropriate monthly allowance for each, with reference to the prices ruling at the place of their confinement. If the prisoners desire to spend their own money in additional luxuries, they may do so at your discretion.

3. The Government of the North-Western Provinces will be desired to allow one servant to accompany the prisoners if they wish it. If a servant accompanies them, and is desirous of remaining in attendance on the men, he must be subjected to the restrictions mentioned in the letter from this Office to your address, No. 470, dated the 10th March last.

4. No communication by letter should be allowed to the prisoners or their attendant. The North-Western Provinces Government has been desired not to allow any servant to accompany them who has not subscribed a written acknowledgement to be subject to the same conditions and restrictions as the prisoners.

I have the honour to be,

Sir.

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./- H. L. Dampier,

Offg. Secretary to the Government of India.



**(DOCUMENT 37A)**

Seal

No. 53

*To*

The Officer In Charge of the  
Moulmein Jail

Whereas the Governor in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Jowahir Singh, shall be placed under personal restraint in the Moulmein Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III. of 1818.

By order of the Governor  
General in Council,

Sd/. H. L. Dampier.

Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
the Home Department.

Simla,

*The 31st October, 1872.*

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**(DOCUMENT 37B)**

Seal

No. 54

*To*

The Officer in Charge of the  
Moulmein Jail

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Lukha Singh

shall be placed under personal restraint in the Moulmein Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III. of 1818.

By Order of the Governor General  
in Council,

Sd./- H. L. Dampier,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
in the Home Department.

Simla,

*The 31st October, 1872.*

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**(DOCUMENT 37C)**

Seal  
No. 55

*To*

The Officer In Charge of the  
Moulmein Jail.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Brahma Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Moulmein Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person abovenamed into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III. of 1818.

By order of the Governor General  
in Council.

Sd./- H. L. Dampier  
Secy. to the Govt. of India  
in the Home Department.

Simla,

*The 31st October, 1872.*

**DOCUMENT 38**

Transfer of Mr. T. D. Forsyth, from Punjab to Oudh.

No. 3422.

*Dated 22nd October, 1872.*

*From*

L. Griffin, Esq.,  
Officiating Secretary to the Government  
of the Punjab.

*To*

H. L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government  
of India.

I am desired by the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor to forward, in original, a letter dated 28th August from the Revd. B. Golakhnath of Jalandhar, with its accompanying vernacular petitions against the removal of T.D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B., which it has been requested may be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council. Translations of the petitions are also enclosed.

The case to which the accompanying memorials have reference having been authoritatively decided by the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State, the Lieutenant-Governor hesitated to send on these papers with special reference to the orders conveyed in your letters marginally noted in the case of Lieutenant R. Bartholomew ; but as his Honor still holds that in a case of importance which had been decided, not by him but by the Government of India, he has no option, in simple justice to the officer concerned, but to send on the petitions without comment of his own for such consideration as the Government of India may think them deserving, and this procedure, which is covered by the discretion left in the instructions conveyed in your letter of the 25th April, the Lieutenant-Governor would feel constrained to follow in similar case which had been decided by the Supreme Government.

No. 486 G, dated 4th  
April 1872. No. 820 G,  
dated 25th April 1872.

**DOCUMENT 38A***Dated Jalandar, the 28th August 1872**From*

The Revd. B. Golakanath.

*To*L. Griffin, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of the Punjab.

In May last a meeting of several Native gentlemen of this place and elsewhere was held here, and Sirdar Bikarma Singh, Bahadoor, Ahluwalia, was called to the chair. The object of the meeting was to memorialize the Government of India to reconsider its late orders removing Mr. T.D. Forsyth; late Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala, from the Punjab to Oudh for the part he had taken in the execution of Kukas at Kotla in January last.

While the members of the meeting acknowledged with gratitude the kindly interest and paternal care which has always been taken by their rulers in the welfare of the people, they could not but feel that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, however legally just the decision may be, its effects upon the population at large, especially the discontented and ill-disposed, would be very injurious and productive of evil consequences.

On the other hand, most of the members of the meeting being well acquainted with the real character and designs of the Kukas, and seeing that they were daily increasing in number till they received the blow so well merited by them at Kotla, it was with much regret that the meeting learnt from the late orders that the officers who had in good faith done their duty in checking the career of a rebellious sect, whose avowed intention was the overthrow of British rule in the Punjab, had been punished, and thus disgraced before the whole country.

By the direction of the president and the meeting I have now taken the liberty of forwarding herewith vernacular petitions accompanied by the signatures of those who have united

with the meeting held here, and have to request the favor of your being kind enough to lay the same before the Hon'ble the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, with a view to their being submitted for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor General of India in Council.

To the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

May it please your honor—We, the subjects of Her Majesty the Queen, most respectfully beg to appeal, on the grounds noted below, to our just Government, and particularly Lord Northbrook, against an order recently passed by the Government of India, whereby Mr. Cowan has been dismissed from the service, and Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala, has been transferred to a commissionership in Oudh, and pray that the order in question be cancelled.

It is not a hidden fact to the experienced officers of the Government that the Kuka sect never wished that the British administration should continually enjoy tranquillity, which is evident from the way they conducted themselves; they assembled in large numbers at fairs on pretence of celebrating the festivals, and raised religious disputes in such places; they appointed armed Subas at different places; they established their private post; they sung (seditious) verses as the following.

“Khalsaji ka raj hosi,

Unke agga rahe no kosee;”

(The Khalsaji will rule,

Before the Khalsa no one will remain ;)

And they spoke ill of the Government intention at their own places. It was on such considerations that Government always kept an eye on them when they went to any fairs. In the beginning they attacked the Government intentions by a stratagem, and then, as lookers-on, kept silent to see how far would the judicial proceedings get them in. All the Raikes of Amritsar were brought under difficulties, on their account, for a long time. At last, when it was proved that crime was committed by the Kukas, all the members of the sect were not implicated, but only a few of them were arrested. They, then taking the religi-

ous provocation of kine-slaughter in hand, by which they hoped to excite every Hindu, attacked the person who had given assistance to Government in the first case, and raised a disturbance. By holding up their head in this way, they tested the administrative power of Government a second time. We fully think that, if they were not punished according to the gravity of the crime, our property, honor, and lives would have been exposed to greater danger than that of the Amritsar people in the previous case. But as Mr. Forsyth was an experienced officer, and was acquainted with the character of the people well, he understood these apprehensions; and as he was present at the place where the second catastrophe occurred, he blew the criminal Kuka party from the mouth of the cannon; and thus defeated the courage of a large number of the members of the sect in the Punjab, who were anxiously looking out for the result. By thus checking them in the commencement, the fire which was to set the whole of the Punjab on conflagration was suppressed. Thus, considering the above facts, we, who understand the usages of our country well, when we compare the action taken by Mr. Forsyth with our custom, find that the measures adopted have been the cause of protecting our honor. And as for his services to Government and doing good to the people Mr. Forsyth has been condemned. We, leaving out the question of esteem and gratitude we feel for and owe to that just officer, beg to be permitted to express our grief and regret for the censure he has received for his exerting himself for the good of the public. Apart from a consideration of the previous praiseworthy services of Mr. Forsyth, we have a further ground to urge for the granting of our appeal by Government, that no one considered the present services of that officer through a Native point of view, and the Government order was passed on an error detected in papers of the case.

We sign our names on a separate paper.

Signatures on the separate papers referred to :—

Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia,

Bikrma Singh, do,

Sochet Singh, do,

Golaknath, Missionary,

and 437 others, Jagirdars, Members of Municipal Committees, Zaildars, Sahukars, etc., of different towns and villages.

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To the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

May it please your honor !—It is evident that our kind Government has, through great benevolence, allowed liberty to all its subjects, and especially to the writers of newspapers; with a view that, if they may observe any defect in the administration of the country, or find fault with any State orders concerning the people, they may without fear express their views and objections with reference thereto, in order that by such means the Government may be made acquainted with such defects, and take steps to remedy them. Many objections were raised by editors of newspapers with respect to the orders passed by the Government in the late Kuka case ; and as we, Rases and subjects of Government, have stronger claims to enjoy such a liberty than the newspaper writers, in order that, when we may observe any defect in connection with any question concerning our country, we may with sincere faith represent the matter to Government. As the objections raised by the newspaper writers against the Government orders in the Kuka case are sound and proper in our opinion, a committee was formed by the people whose names appear according to the districts at the end, with a view to draw up a petition to Government, and they unanimously came to the conclusion that the Government orders passed in that case really require re-consideration, and that consequently it was necessary to make a representation to the Government on the subject ; for we understand the affairs of the country far better than any other class. It has been already admitted in the Parliament. The rebellious and mutinous conduct of the Kukas, who pretended to the votaries and worshippers of the Deity, was not viewed in its true light as it ought to have been, nor was due attention given to the reports of experienced officers. It was the belief of the natives of Hindustan, as well as the Punjab generally, that the Kukas, ever since the sect came into existence, had for their real object the acquisition of temporal sovereignty of the country, and that its members were chiefly disloyal. They were not believed to be disinterested fakirs or worshippers of the true God. They

used strong arguments in support of their creed, which cannot be related for fear of the petition becoming prolix, but one or two will be mentioned to show their nature. The policy of the Kuka sect is based on self-interest and acquiring possessions of territory ; ostensibly they prohibit drinking spirits, and forbid stealing and lying, but in reality they follow a system which resembles an administrative policy ; for they had appointed a Subah and Assistant Subah at the head of every lakh of Kukas, and had appointed other as officers on the military system, and every Subah submitted daily reports to Guru Ram Singh. If by adversity of circumstances any members of the sect became indigent, they were helped by contributions by their co-religionists, store-houses were erected at the village of Bhaini, and arrangements for keeping them well furnished were commenced. The Kukas acknowledge ten Gurus, or spiritual leaders, called Badshahs (Emperors), who were passed away, and some of them having had predicted that an eleventh Guru would be born somewhere near the River Sutlej, when everyone would acknowledge the supremacy of the Khalsa, the hopes of the Sikhs revived when they observed Ram Singh, the founder of the Kuka sect, come forward, and they considered that he was the same eleventh Guru who was to come to the world as the last, and they believed that their authority and religion would be extended everywhere, and that all the other religions would be swept away from the face of the world. They have many compilations extant to this subject,—one of their sayings being “Thare masitan dhae ke karo maidaah” (demolish the altars and the mosques and level them with the ground). The Kukas pulled down many religious buildings to carry out the meaning of the verse, and there will be found files of many such cases brought against them in several districts, and especially in the district of Ludhiana.

Now of the facts ; from some time back they commenced collecting in numbers at large fairs ; and as the Government looked to their conduct with lenity, they openly made preparations for removing and raising disturbance. In the first place, to induce the people of other religions (with the exception of Muhamdans and Englishmen, Christians) who abhor salughter of kine to join them, they took themselves the task of



murdering butchers. Subah Giani Singh was appointed by Guru Ram Singh as commanding officer to execute the murder of the butchers, and, on his being arrested and hung, he declared vehemently that his death would be avenged, and that the people would see what would come to pass shortly. His followers declared that they were resolved to avenge his death; and, although it was given out that they were mad, and Ram Singh had made a report of their excited condition, he gave injunctions to all the Kukas through the Subahs to be ready for the contemplated time; and this has been proved. The attack contemplated by them was resolved on account of the leaving by chance of the Maharaja of Patiala to Delhi, the headless state of the Riasat of Maler Kotlah, its chief having died, and the recent installation of the Rajah of Nabha. They had a consultation among themselves to the effect that they should first overpower the State of Maler Kotlah, and securing arms, horses etc., from that principality, take hold of the Patiala fort of Doladi, and then suddenly attack the Riasat of Nabha. They first attacked the Maloud Estate, and then fell on Maler Kotlah; but, had they not been arrested there, their co-religionists would have flown to their assistance from all directions on hearing their attacking the State; but, owing to the good management of Mr. Cowan, who exerted himself in collecting the troops of the neighbouring chiefs and in summoning the British fauj, and on account of the coming to the place of Mr. Forsyth, they were checked.

### **Replies extracted from newspapers to the strictures of the Government.**

The Kuka disturbance occurred at two places,—first in the dependent chiefship of Maloud, and the insurgents arrested at that place were tried according to law by the Session Judge, and a report was submitted by that officer to the Sadar Court on the subject, and there was nothing done which was illegal. The second disturbance took place in the independent State of Maler Kotlah, and the arrests of the Kukas concerned were made in the Patiala Territory, also an independent chiefship. Leaving all this out of question, Mr. Cowan would have been murdered had he not been rescued. The insurgents were to be punished according to the practice of punishing of capital

offenders current in the Riasat, and it is this—that when the chief for the time being having investigated the guilt, considers the criminal to be liable to suffer capital punishment, he refers the case to the Agents (Cis-Sutlej States) at Ambala for confirmation of sentence of death, and the Agent sanctions the sentence of the Rais in accordance with the spirit of letter No. 2352, dated 7th October 1847, from the Secretary to the Government of India, and the letter No. 1110, dated 23rd September 1870, and gives permission for hanging, etc., of the criminal. The Agent need not make a report of such cases to the Sadar authorities; neither is there an order that a criminal sentenced to death should only be hanged, and not blown from the mouth of cannon; nor it is directed that the provisions of the Indian Penal Code and act XXV. (of 1861) are to be observed within the boundaries of the States, except so far that the chiefs connected with the Ambala Agency are strictly prohibited to mutilate any criminal. When the criminals concerned in the affair were arrested, Mr. Cowan acted according to the powers conferred on him by the rules and practice current in the state, which he was bound to observe, that is, when the officials of the Riasat where the disturbance occurred, and the other States, were all of opinion that the insurgents should be blown from the gun, he wrote a letter to the Commissioner, and did as was resolved. Although the criminals were blown from the cannon's mouth before the sanction arrived, but, according to the law of the State, they had power to act as they thought fit according to circumstances, and consequently their proceeding is not open to objection.

The crime of the Kukas was punished with death, and there has been no order issued in the State not to blow criminals from the cannon's mouth; and as this kind of punishment is more suitable for setting example to others, this mode of punishment was adopted in accordance with the opinion of the Riasat authorities. The Rajah of Jind had, in 1854, blown away two villages for their throwing off their allegiance, murdering a Tahsildar, and setting fire to an officers building. The actions taken by the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner in the case were bona fide, and were based on the welfare of the people and the benefit of the administration. In such

cases of rebellion, which injure the administration, the niceties of law are not taken into consideration. The frontier affairs of the Peshawar Division, Kohat, and Derajat must be taken into consideration, where law is not admitted. During the mutinies of 1857 four or five troopers had first entered Delhi : had they been apprehended and blown from the cannon's mouth, the affairs of those days, perhaps, would not have spread so widely as they did. The Kuka disturbance was of the nature of rebellion of 1857 and, had there been a little more delay in checking it, the confusion would have been terrible. We understand that the office of Mr. Forsyth in the suppression of this disturbance was that of a general and all that he did was not against the rules of the agency, but only this, that he did not make a report to the Sadar Court, which, according to the rule laid down in the letters quoted above, was not necessary, and it was feared that in the case of delay a gang of Kukas might come to the aid of their brethren and forcibly effect their release, or that disturbance would have occurred in other parts of the country.

On the management of affairs in this way, the members of the Kuka sect were so much terrified that it was hoped that no one would ever raise his head again. Many of the followers of the sect disavowed the creed. But Mr. Cowan was suspended, and ultimately dismissed from service, and Mr. Forsyth was transferred, the lifeless Kukaism revived again, and the members of the sect asserted that all this had happened for the sake of their prosperity, and stated that what had occurred was a miracle wrought by their Guru, who, though he was suffering under difficulties, would triumph in the end, as the spiritual leaders of the former ages had been. They are now collecting money by contributions for securing the release of Ram Singh, their Guru, and are looking out for a good Subah.

We have stated above that the Kuka aspire the possession of the country ; and if the orders passed with respect to Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth are not modified, we apprehend danger, as the administrative authority having been thus weakened, the rebellious character are encouraged to have recourse to mischief. Granted that both these officers erred against law in taking the action they did, but, God, forbid,

this was not done for any self-interest or from partiality to any one.

We, the subjects of Government, have not come forward as partial to any party or in any self-interested manner, but we respectfully and with joined hands pray that the benign Government be pleased to revise and cancel the orders passed in the case, and thus make us, well-wishers, happy.

The signatures of the petitioners are attached to separate papers filed with the petition.

Enclosures.

Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of the Ambala Division, and Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, adopted laudable and wise measures for the suppression of the mischief and disturbance caused by the Kukas, and awarded exemplary punishment to that reckless sect ; and it is owing to this really good management that we have been relieved of the apprehension of their evil intentions and desires to take hold of the country, and have become safe and secure. Although these officers deserved praise for the measures taken by them, but, on the contrary, orders expressing displeasure and raising objections against their action were passed, which have been the cause of our apprehending many fears to the injury of the administration, and which have revived that rebellious sect which was almost extinct, and gave them an opportunity of entertaining hopes for prosperity, and have thrown us in an uncertain state against their ill designs. We have, therefore, drawn a petition in which we have given full grounds, and have sent it by Kazi Mubarak Ali to the Committee which has been formed in the Jalandar District, with a view that it may be transmitted to the Government for a consideration of our prayer. Having sent his petition to the Government, we pray that the case be re-considered and the petitioners be obliged.

Sardar Bishan Singh,

Rais of Kalsia.

*Dated the 28th June 1872.*

Owing to the wise measures adopted by Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala and Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludhiana, for the suppression of the mischief and disturbance caused by the Kukas, and their awarding them exemplarily punishment, order was fully restored in the country and, being relieved from the apprehensions of their evil intentions and desires to take hold of territory, we became safe and secure. These officers deserved praise from Government for the measures taken by them ; for what they had done they did with good intentions ; but, on the contrary, orders expressing displeasure and condemning their actions were passed against them, which have been the cause of reviving the Kuka sect, which had been almost swept of the face of the earth, and have given them fresh hopes of waiting for their time. As this order is injurious to the interests of the administration, and fears of different kinds are apprehended if it be not set aside, we, the people of the whole of Punjab and the subject of the Government, have formed a committee in the Jalandhar District for forwarding our representations in this respect to Government, and, framing an exhaustive petition, beg to forward it to Government with a prayer that the orders in question be modified. In sending this petition, we, the Rais and people of the Karnal District, beg to state that we entirely concur in the views of the Jalandhar Committee.

Nawab Shamsheer Ali Khan, Istamrardar, of Karnal.

- „ Mihammad Ali Khan, Bahadur, Rais and Istamarardar of Karnal.
- „ Mihr Ilahi Khan, Istamrardar and Rais of Karnal.
- „ Karam Ilahi Khan, Istamrardar of Karnal.
- „ Akbar Khan, son of Nawab Gholam Sharf Khan, Bahadur, Istamarardar and Rais of Karnal.
- „ Nijabat Ali Khan, Istamrardar of Karnal.
- „ Kamaruddin Khan, Istamrardar and Rais of Karnal.
- „ Nandu Mal, member, Municipal Committee, and Rais of Karnal.

Narain Dass, Member Municipal Committee and Rais of Karnal.

Duarka Dass, Sahukar of Karnal.

Jawahar Singh, Sahukar of Karnal.

Lala Makhan Mal, Member, Municipal Committee, and Rais of Karnal.

Jugal Kishore, Kanugo of Karnal.

Syad Amir Ali, Rais of Karnal.

Syad Wazir Ali, Rais and Member of Municipal Committee of Karnal.

Syad Muhammad Hassan, Rais of Karnal.

Syad Anayat Ali, Rais of Karnal.

Sheodial Singh, Member of Municipal Committee and Rais of Karnal.

Syad Hashmat Ali, Zimindar of Jalhar, in the Karnal District.

Bhola Nath, Mahajan, Rais of Karnal.

Another paper, in the same words as the last ; from the following Native gentlemen of the Jagahdri Tehsil Ilaka :

Bansi Lal, Banker and Rais of Jagahdri.

Lala Deve Chand, ditto.

„ Baldeo Singh, ditto.

„ Parkanath Rai, ditto.

„ Jagadhar Mal, ditto.

„ Ramdhari Mal, Sahukar of Jagadhri

Keval Mal, Chaudhri of Jagahdari.

Lala Dania Lal, Sahukar of ditto.

„ Jamna Das, ditto.

„ Bali Mal, ditto.

„ Kashmiri Das, Chaudhri of ditto.

„ Shadi Ram, Choudhri of ditto.

„ Nanu Mal, Member, Municipal Committee of Jagahdri.

„ Kewal Ram, Sahukar of Jagahdri	
„ Wazir Mal,	ditto.
„ Shankar Das Chaudhri of	ditto.
„ Dwaraka Mal, Sahukar of	ditto.
„ Baldeo Das,	ditto.
„ Sita Ram,	ditto.
„ Lekhraj,	ditto.
„ Raja Ram, Chaudhri of	ditto.
„ Nathan Mal,	ditto.
Gopal Sahai, Sahukar of	ditto.
Lala Sawai Mal,	ditto.
„ Bhagwan Das	ditto.
Kewal Ram, Zimindar of	ditto.
Lala Chuni Lal, Sahukar of	ditto.
„ Nanak Chand,	ditto.
„ Bhagwan Das	ditto.
„ Banwari Das, of	ditto.
„ Mul Raj,	ditto.
„ Bansi Lal, Chaudhri of	ditto.
„ Ram Surn,	ditto.
„ Chuni Lal,	ditto.
„ Hira Lal, Sahukar	ditto.
„ Ramji Das,	ditto.
„ Chuni Lal, son of Lala Nathan,	
Sahukar of Jagahdri	
„ Sisgapol, Sahukar of Jagahdri	
„ Harsahai Mal,	ditto.
„ Nahr Singh	ditto.
„ Zahru Mal, Sahukar of	ditto.
„ Ramjidas	ditto.
„ Chhater Mal,	ditto.
Golab Singh, Jagirdar.	ditto.
Lala Thakur Das, Sahukar of Jagahdri.	
„ Bihari Lal,	ditto.
„ Ramji Das,	ditto.
„ Murli Lal,	ditto.

Jamna Das, Sahukar of Balaspur.  
 Chhaju Mal, Lambardar of Kererah.  
 Murtaza Khan, Lambardar of Balaspur.  
 Jiwan Mal, Sahukar of Jagahdri.  
 Malkhan, of Saran.  
 Sodha, Lambardar of Katrah Kalan.  
 Mullan, of Kaheri.

Talab, of ditto.

Najab Khan, Lambardar.

Ali Bakhsh, ditto.

Mardan, ditto.

Nabi Bakhsh.

Mathra Das, Chaudhri of Mustafabad.

Lala Ghasi Ram, ditto.

„ Daulat Ram, ditto.

„ Chuni Lal, ditto.

Sardar Tilok Singh, Rais of ditto.

„ Sundar Singh, ditto.

„ Gursam Singh, ditto.

Ahmad Sabar, Lambardar ditto.

Nabi Bakhsh, Lambardar of Mustafabad.

Lala Chunu Lal of ditto.

Mahtab Singh of Khanpur.

Ali Bakhsh

Mahan ji, Lambardar.

Another similar petition signed by the following gentlemen of the town of Buria :

Sardar Jiwan Singh, Honorary Magistrate, Rais of Buria.

„ Gurbakhsh Singh.

Hardit Singh, Rais of Dialgarh.

Mohan Lal.

Sawai Singh,



Lala Hardwari Mal, Sahukar of Buria.

„ Kundan Lal, ditto.

„ Dina Mal ditto.

„ Zohoru Mal ditto.

Bhawat, Chaudhri.

Thakur Das, Mahajan.

Kazi Zia-ud-din, member, Municipal Committee.

Shambu Nath, Hakim.

Chhaju Singh.

Another petition, in the same words, signed by the following gentlemen :

Sardar Partab Singh, Machrauli.

„ Indar Singh, of Narwah Kalan.

„ Jai Singh, Changoli.

„ Santokh Singh, Jagirdar of Jagdholi.

Fateh Singh, Jagirdar.

Sant Singh ditto of Saran.

Kirpal Singh ditto of ditto.

Iban ? Singh ditto.

Lehna Singh ditto of Dharamkot.

Another petition, in the same words, from the following Native gentlemen of Ambala (District) :

Raja Bhagwan Singh, of Mani Majra.

„ Hira Singh, of Pabhat.

Sardar Khiwan Singh, of Moloha.

Fateh Singh, Jagirdar.

Punnu Mal, Chaudbri of Mani Majra.

Jawahar Lal, of Kuroli.

Kanshi Ram, ditto.

Chuni, ditto.

Chuhr Singh, Lambardar.

Bhola Singh, ditto.

Khuda Bakhsh, ditto.

Kala Singh, ditto.

**Chaudhri Vart Singh, Lambardar.**

„ **Takhat Singh, ditto.**

**Hira Lal.**

**Deva Singh.**

**Kahn Singh.**

**Santu Mal.**

**Chaudhri Bahadur Singh.**

„ **Charat Singh.**

„ **Wazir Singh.**

„ **of Malakeah.**

„ **Sant Singh Jagirdar.**

**Bishan Singh.**

**Isri, Lambardar of Salah.**

**Gulab Singh, of ditto.**

**Nand Singh, of ditto.**

**Ram Jas.**

**Sandal, Lambardar,**

**Charagha, ditto. of Banur.**

**Madhu, ditto of Malu Majra.**

To the Honorable the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, May it please your honor—We, the undersigned Rajas, Sirdars and Riases of the Punjab, most respectfully beg to submit an appeal against an order with respect to Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissior and Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner and pray that your honor be pleased to transmit our petition to the Supreme Government.

2. Many of us, perhaps, do not know Cowan or Mr. Forsyth ; but since the occurrence of the disturbance by the Kukas, no one could be unaware of the particulars of their case. Our representation is based on the consideration of the futuer welfare of our country, and not on any self-interest ; for when any sect raises disturbance in any country with a view to general rebellion, other tribes and respectable inhabitants also suffer, and are so much troubled and brought under difficulties

that they cannot be remedied, and in such times the authorities consider that, although one party has held up their head against the State, but all must be punished.

3. It is not a long time that the Kukas murdered the butchers at Amritsar, when the Raikes of that town were involved in great difficulties and troubles, and our benevolent Government must be aware of the intentions of the authorities that they had against them, and so we do not know what would have been done with the people of whole of the Punjab owing to the rebellious conduct of the Kukas had not the disturbances at Maloud and Maler Kotla been speedily suppressed.

4. Our equitable and just Government considers that the punishment inflicted on the Kukas concerned in Maloud and the Maler Kotla disturbances was rash ; but we beg to state that our country is situated on such a frontier where bloodshed occurred, and as many savage tribes inhabit its borders, as well as the country, we do not consider the punishment to be severe at such times and on such an occasion, considering their manners, their character, and the practice followed during the rule of former Government ; for a punishment which puts stop to a thousand bloodshed and tends to continuance of order and tranquillity in the country, and protects the honor of the nobility, is not considered severe.

5. The conduct, thoughts, and the manners of the Kukas are undoubtedly full of mischief and rebellious spirit, and there in no doubt that they would have caused sometime such a great rebellion that the honor and the tranquillity of the country would have much suffered from it. We consider their conduct rebellious on the following grounds :

Firstly, they had appointed Subahs in different places, and their respective jurisdictions were defined, so much so that no one had authority within the Jurisdiction of another Subah, and by this arrangement they could disturb the whole of the country by raising disturbance at any time ; secondly, they kept their secrets in such a manner that they could not be known to the people of other religions, and their dark arrange-

ments were made in the same manner as the Government post ; thirdly, their number daily increased ; so much so that, although they numbered only hundreds in the beginning, they now number lakhs, they commenced their religious movement in such a manner that all the Sikhs might be excited by the religious impulse. To effect this purpose they murdered the butchers at Amritsar, which is a religious place of all the Sikh Sardars, considering that by such of their religious action the hearts of the Sikhs will turn towards them, and they will assist them, believing that the Kukas were fighting for a good cause ; and fifthly they sung the verse

“Khalsa ji ka raj host,  
Unke agga rahe no kosi.”  
(The Khalsa ji will rule,  
No one will remain before them.)

6. After the Amritsar and Raikot events, when they thought that the religious feelings of all the Sikhs were excited, they openly rebelled, and made an attack on Malod and Maler Kotla. The attack was made at such a time when all troops had gone to Delhi, and it was clear that in all parts of the country the Subahs, who had been appointed at different places to serve at such a time, would have raised their heads and excited a general rebellion. But proper measures having been adopted soon, and the insurgents being sufficiently punished on spot, the disturbance was suppressed, and the Government now considers it to have been a trifling matter.

7. There is no doubt that they could not have been able to do any-thing had they come against Government even in a body of ten lakhs ; but there is also no doubt that, had the disturbance spread and not severely dealt with at once, thousands of lives would have been lost.

8. We see that the Government has acknowledged in their decision the good intentions of these two officers, but we regret to state that, notwithstanding this, they have been severely punished, and the Kukas would think that the punishment has been inflicted through curse of their Guru, and it is not well for

the interests of the country that they should entertain such a belief.

9. The departure from the Punjab of Mr. Forsyth, who had been a Hakim in this province for upwards of twenty years, who is remembered with esteem in every part of the country where he served, whom people throughout the country regard as their well-wisher and friend, who had spent a greater part of his life in improving and doing good to the country, and whose good intentions are well known, is so heavy a stroke for us that we cannot fully express ourselves. We, the undersigned Rajahs, Sardars, Raises, and subjects of Government, with great respect and with joined hands, pray that, considering the rebellious conduct of the Kukas and the good intentions of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth in the action taken by them for the protection of our country from ruin, the Government be pleased to modify the order passed by them for the future prosperity of the country.

Rajah Hamidulla Khan, of Rajauri, Hoshiarpur.

Amin Chand, Rais of Bijwarah, ditto.

Pandit Hari Shankar, Extra Assistance, ditto.

Sheoparshad, Tahsildar, ditto.

and 140 others, Zeldars, Lambardars, etc., of the Hoshiarpur District.

22nd June, 1872.—The above paper having been laid before a committee, held by the Sodhis and Raises of Anandpur, which was attended by about 500 persons, the meeting unanimously concurred in the views and opinion of the Hoshiarpur Anjaman, and stated that the punishment inflicted on the Kukas was just and appropriate; for it is believed that, had they not been punished, they would have raised a great disturbance somewhere afterwards.

Bedi Sujan Singh,

Jaimal Singh, member, Municipal Committee,

Lachmandas, Superintendent of Settlement, Pargunah,

Unah, and 40 others, Zeldars, Sahukars, etc., of Unah.

**(DOCUMENT 38 B)**

Orders passed on removal of Mr. T.D. Forsyth.

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(G. G.'s Office note)

*From*

The Government of the Punjab, No. 3422.

*Dated 23rd October, 1872*

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These petitions adduce nothing which was not fully considered. They may, perhaps, be sent to the Secretary of State with remark to that effect, and Punjab Government told so.

H.L.D., 27-11-72.

I am not sure that there is any necessity for sending this on to the Secretary of State (to whom the memorial is not addressed) specially, or even in extenso. I think the memorialists may be told that the Government of India does not doubt that the designs of the leader of the Kuka tribe were seditious, but that this fact does not affect the grounds upon which the decision of Government was based.

B.C.H., 28-11-72.

**CIRCULATE.**

I have always declined to re-open the question of the merits of the case of the Kuka executions. The Secretary of State having his decision, any appeal is to him, and not to the Government of India.

At the same time I think, in fairness to Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan, these papers should be forwarded to the Secretary of State, and the Government of the Punjab informed.

When the case is disposed of, I should like to know to what orders the Lieutenant-Governor refers in the case of Lieut. Bartholomew, as making him doubtful as to the propriety of sending on these memorials.

N., 16-12-72.

I see no objection to the papers being forwarded to the Secretary of State. In forwarding them, I would simply make the remark at the close of Mr. Bayley's note above.

B.H.E., 18-12-72.

H.W.N., 18-12-72.

A.H., 19-12-72.

RE-SUBMITTED, after culculation for orders of His Excellency.

H.L.D., 20-12-72.

### COUNCIL—N

#### Council order.

1. Draft despatch to Secretary of State, forwarding the positions with remark that they do not appear to contain anything, which has not already received full consideration from the Secretary of State and the Governor General in Council.
2. Draft to Punjab Government requesting it to inform petitioners that, although (as above remark to Secretary of State), the petitions have been submitted to the Secretary of State.

H.L.D. 26-12-72.

**(DOCUMENT No. 38 C)***No. 1 Dated Fort William, the 6th January, 1873.**From,*

H. Wellesley, Esq.,  
 Offg. Under Secy. to the Government of India.

*To*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.,  
 Offg. Secy. to the Govt of the Punjab.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter no. 3422 date the 23nd October 1872, together with the petitions therein enclosed against the transfer of Mr. T.D. Forsyth C.B., from the Punjab to the Oudh.

2. In reply, I am to request that you will, with the permission of the Hon'ble the Lieutenant-Governor, inform the petitioners that their petitions will be submitted to His Grace the Secretary of the State although they do not appear to contain anything which has not already received full consideration from Her Majesty's Government in England, as well as from the Governor General in Council.

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**DOCUMENT B,***Dated Fort William, the 10th January, 1873**From*

The Government of India.

*To*

Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

We transmit, for Your Grace's consideration, the accompanying copy of a letter\* from the Government of the Punjab, together with copy of a letter from the Reverend B. Golaknath, of Jalandhar, and translations of



the vernacular petition there in referred to against the recent transfer of Mr. T.D. Forsyth, C.B., from the Punjab to Oudh.

2. In transmitting these documents we have only to remark that they do not appear to contain anything which has not already received consideration from your Grace, as well as from the Government of India.

Copy of a confidential letter of the 1st July 1872, from Major A.H. Bamfield Deputy Inspector General of the Ambala Circle, to the Inspector General of Police.

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**(DOCUMENT 39)**

In reply to your confidential No. 227, dated 27th May last, I have now the honor to state that Mr. Warburton has made a very careful inquiry, personally, and through scouts and has found that there is no truth in the report that gun powder is being manufactured by Kukas at Raipur in the Ludhiana District.

Mr. Warburton supposes that, possibly, the report may have originated, in consequence of certain firework-maker having been employed on the 26th May 1871, in Raipur, by Durbara Singh Kooka, to make firework on the occasion of his daughter's marriage. One of these men by name Ahmed, of Sydoki, Zila Amritsar was severely burnt (by an accidental explosion), and died on the third day after the accident.

**(True Copies)**

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**(DOCUMENT 39 A)**

*Copy of docket No. 307, dated 2nd October 1872.*

*From*

Lieutenant Colonel C. Hutchinson, C.S.I.,  
Inspector General of Police, Punjab.

*To*

Lepel Griffin, Esq.,  
Officiating Secretary to Govt., Punjab.

In reply to his No. 3020 of the 10th ultimo, requesting a report of the result of enquiries made on the petition of Dal Singh, that Gunpowder was being manufactured by certain Kukas at Raipur in the Ludhiana District, has the honor to forward a copy of a confidential letter, dated the 1st July last, from the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Ambala Circle, stating that the District Superintendent of Ludhiana reports that, after a very careful personal inquiry he has found there is no truth in the report whatever.

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**(DOCUMENT 39 B)**

*From*

C.U. RIVAZ, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to Govt.,  
Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

*Home*

*Dated Lahore 30th October, 1872*

Sir,

With reference to the 2nd para of your No. 3262, dated 10th August 1872, No. 296, dated the 15th August last, I am

directed to forward copy of a report by the Inspector General of Police, and its enclosure, from which it will be seen that the information given by Dal Singh of Raipur in the Ludhiana district to effect that the manufacture of gunpowder was being carried on by certain Kukas of that town, was altogether devoid of truth.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Most obedient Servant,

Sd. C.U. Rivaz.

Offg. Under Secy. to  
Govt. Punjab.

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**(DOCUMENT 40)**

*No. 60 of 1872, Government of India, Home Department, Judicial.*

*To His Grace*

The Right Hon'able the Duke of Argyle, K.T.,  
Her Majesty's Secretary of State  
for India.

*Fort William, 27th December, 1872.*

My Lord Duke,

In the 5th paragraph of our despatch No. 47, dated the 19th August, last, we mentioned that we were in communication with the Government of Punjab as to the course to be pursued in regard to the Sobahs of the Kuka leader Ram Singh. We

have now received a reply from that Government to our letter of the 7th August. We enclose a copy of the document\*, and Your Grace will perceive from it that the Lieutenant-Governor is averse to the proposal made by us that the Kuka Sobahs should be brought to trial on specific charges. His Honor strongly recom-

\*Letter from the Government of the Punjab, No. 3648, dated 30th Sept., 1872, with enclosures.

mends that the course heretofore followed of detaining these men in confinement as the political prisoners should be continued.

2. Concurring in the reasons assigned by the Lieutenant-Governor in the letter above-mentioned, we have resolved on the continued detention of the Subahs as political prisoners.

3. These men will be distributed between Chunar, Asseer-gurh, and Moulmein Aden, at which places suitable arrangements can be made for their custody, and we enclose for your Grace's information a copy of the documents noted on the margin containing our instructions on the subject.

We have the honor to be,  
My Lord Duke,

Yours Grace's most obedient,  
humble Servants,

Northbrook.

B.H. Ellis.

H.W. Norman.

A. Hobhouse.

E.C. Bayley.

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EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS  
(April to November 1872)

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(1) The Friend of India. (2) Amrit Bazar Patrika. (3) The Hindu Patriot. (4) The Englishman, arranged in chronological order.

(Compiler)

*April 4, 1872.***The Friend of India**

**The Kooka Executions :—**Sir—In last week's issue your appeal to "Christian Missionaries in India," on the subject of the Kooka executions, is both temperate and timely. If their silence continues much longer, it will be regarded and quoted hereafter as tantamount to sympathy with Mr. Cowan in that terrible deed. The Government may want moral support, but so far as the Missionaries are concerned, "the moral support," as you say, "may come too late." The facts of the case, as you have stated them over and over again, may be put in a nutshell, and they have never been contradicted. By Mr. Cowan's order 49 men were blown to atoms from the cannon's mouth, and that too without trial. Mr. Forsyth virtually sanctioned this deed by the execution of 16 more, after trial. What was there in the state of things to justify these wholesale executions? I quite agree with your correspondent of last week, that "nothing on earth that the opposite party can prove will justify the acts of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth." And again, "the question of the designs of the Kookas has nothing whatever to do with that of the massacre, unless it be admitted that men should be hanged for intention." The case is one of the simplest I ever knew, and I can only account for the silence of the Missionaries as a body on the ground that they do not wish to forestall the decision on the Government. They are aware of the fact that a local inquiry has been instituted and that judgement will follow in course of time. The object of the Missionaries has always been to give the Government, in every emergency, as much moral support as they deemed consistent with truth and justice. I am convinced of this policy. But in the case I think their reticence has been carried too far. They are ready enough to redress the wrongs of native Christians. When these are oppressed they lift up their voice like a trumpet. They cry aloud and spare not; and why should they not now speak out? A tremendous error has been committed, and its effects will be felt both by England and India. I protest against it on the score of humanity, and as an injury to Christianity.

A Missionary.

*Dated 9th April 1872***The Englishman**

**Recantation of a Kuka :—**The Commissioner of Jullundar, Mr. P. Melvill, has just been visiting Anandpore, and has reported that a Kuka had recanted his faith in the Khesgarh at that place.

The particulars are as follows :—

The Kuka in question, Gulab Singh, was a resident of Bangah (Jullundur) and is in the service of Baba Khem Singh. He has for some time given up belief in Guru Ram Singh, but he was induced by his master to publicly disavow his Kukaism. He appeared in the Khesgarh yesterday morning (March 26th) before a large crowd, stood on the platform which marks the limit of shoes with his sheet held round his neck ; stated that he had become a Kuka for spiritual comfort, but that having discovered several draw backs in his new religion he now wished to become a Sikh again, and was willing to pay any penalty (Tambih) that might be imposed. He is a Bedi. He paid a fine of 1-4-0, was solemnly admonished, and the ceremony ended by his deliverding up his wollen chain. He was re-admitted to the full privileges of Sikhism.

The effect of this will probably be good. The news is likely to spread. Baba Khem Singh was present on the occasion.

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*April 11, 1872.***The Friend of India.**

**The Kooka Executions :—**Mr. Editor,—In speaking of those bloody executions you say, “we venture to put it to Christian Missionaries in India, if the time has not come for their voices to be heard.” \* \* \*

"It has been the glory of Christianity to stand for the weak and friendless." \* \* \*

If Christianity cannot be heard in a case like this, in support of calm, just, righteous statesmanship, it is not what it was in the old days." Thank you for saying the above, and thanks for much more you have said in favour of Christianity, for true Christianity. "As it was in the old days," so it is now, and forever will be the best friend of the poor, the deep sympathizer with humanity, and the very foundation of righteousness. For its sake, for the sake of all that is dear to humanity, we regret that you said "Our duty will be done when the act is condemned. After that Mr. Cowan may be made a Bishop for anything we care." Please think again Mr. Editor. It cannot be true—can it?—that you would not care that Mr. Cowan should be made a Bishop? Would not the putting such a man in the sacred office of Bishop, bring a lasting disgrace on the pure religion of Him who shed his blood to save the souls of those heathen as well as to save your soul and mine? Nay, nay—Don't let a man whose most noted act has been an outrage against civilization and humanity, as well as Christianity, ever be a Bishop.

A Missionary.

[Our Correspondent has misunderstood us. We were charged—absurdly,—with "pursuing" Mr. Cowan. We wished to make it clear that we cared not a straw for Mr. Cowan one way or another and that when the honour of England was vindicated, we should think of him no more. We certainly would not make him a Bishop. Perhaps one should not use these figures of speech on such a subject, and we wish now that we had not.—Ed.]

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*Dated, 22nd April, 1872.*

### **The Friend and Mr. Cowan**

The Friend of India is still wrangling with its contemporaries in defence of the very extraordinary course adopted by it about the Kuka executions. We think we are correct in



saying that the four Calcutta, the four Madras, and the three Bombay papers, as well as the Lahore, Agra and Umballa journals, agreed with the Pioneer in protesting against the Friend's language and policy. The Scrampore Journal then turned for support to the Native Press, and even there met more foes than friends. Finally, it appealed to the missionaries, but here again, the response was not to the Friend's liking for, at any rate, two missionary journals condemned its line of action. The Friend is naturally annoyed, and in its issue of the 18th inst. adds another article to the hell-and-pigskin series. Mr. Cowan is avenged—"Pioneer".

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### **Amrita Bazar Patrika**

*9th May, 1872*

**Mr. Cowan :** Mr. Cowan has been dismissed from service and Mr. Forsyth removed from the Commissionership of Umballa to a position in another Province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any Native State. The Government also expresses an opinion that Mr. Forsyth ought not in future to be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence. But what provision has been made for the wretched family of those 50 murdered men? Then these are the punishments which these officers receive for blowing away 50 lives without any trial whatever. But we don't mean to be vindictive, we write in sorrow, we feel for those 50 innocent men and their families,—innocent because they were not proved guilty. What we cared for was a principle,—a principle which if ignored would render India unsafe for any man to reside. Mr. Cowan thought there was danger, and to avert which it was absolutely necessary to set a terrible example, in short he pleaded that his intention was good. But if good intentions saved murderers how many in this world would be punished at all? Indeed in any other country Mr. Cowan and his superior would have met with a far different treatment, but as we said we do not mean to be vindictive. We are quite satisfied that the principle has been admitted,

that mere good intentions may not excuse wholesale murders. The Englishman of course abuses the Friend and condemns the decision of the Government and supports Mr. Cowan and lays down his first proposition upon which he founds his arguments thus. "It is beyond doubt that—a few educated Bengalees excepted—every native of the country is convinced that Mr. Cowan did the very best thing he could have done". No, not the least doubt of it, since such an assumption is absolutely necessary to defend Mr. Cowan. Perhaps our contemporary took a plebiscite or else how could he make such a foolish declaration that "every native is convinced". But here is simply an unsound argument advanced by a discomfited and confused adversary, just look to the moral philosophy incalculated by this Journal. It says if every administrative act were to be rigidly regulated by morality, anarchy would soon supplant Government throughout the world. This opinion is deliberately put forth by the leading Journal of India patronised by the upper ten of Anglo-Indian Society. Natives have no doubt fallen low, but they never fell so low as that. The Education Gazette notices with regret a rumour that the present editor of the Friend is going to England and Mr. Smith coming to take charge of the paper. So Mr. Hunter late of the Englishman was hooted out of the country. An honester man than the present Editor of the Friend never came to this country, but just now India has become too hot for honest people. If what the Gazette states be true our countrymen ought to prove to the Anglo-Indians that they can appreciate the boldness, honesty and Christian charity which characterized the Friend under its present management.

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### **The Friend of India**

*May 9, 1872.*

**Government Decision on the Kooka Executions :** No more important document was ever issued by an Indian Government than that which appeared in the Government

Gazette last Saturday on the Kooka Executions. To produce such a document required a faithful examination of facts, and a stern honesty of purpose, in the face of as selfish and bitter an advocacy as even India ever knew. Slowly, calmly, and patiently, the Government went on its honourable way, sifting evidence to the bottom, weighing long character against one fault or crime, and trying, we doubt not, to see everything in favour of its officers from the most favourable standpoint. But it would not do. Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth said what they could in their defence. What had appeared of armed rebellion was held to have been supplemented on the background by a far more terrible power. The law had indeed been broken, but the country had been saved—such was the position, utterly incorrect, as our readers will see. The conclusion is that Mr. Cowan dismissed from the service and Mr. Forsyth transferred to a Commissionership in Oude were “he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any Native State,” and this is followed by an Expression of the opinion of the Government of India that he “ought not in future to be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence.”

The grounds of the difference between the punishment of Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth are clear and marked. It might have been said of Mr. Forsyth, even if he had ordered all the executions, that he was acting according to law—a dreadful law, entailing awful responsibilities, but still law. If he had ordered the 66 executions and had been arraigned for it before a criminal court he could scarcely have been condemned. If Mr. Cowan had been so arraigned we do not see, looking at this document, how he could have escaped the capital sentence, from which he would only have been rescued by the political power. That is the difference which the Government was bound to make. Morally there is no difference between the two men. Politically Mr. Forsyth’s “error” is the greater of the two, but by the law of the land he was authorised to act, an authorisation which we hope to see amended with reference to his late office, and others.

We shall now summarise, for the convenience of our readers, the facts of the Kooka Executions as shown in this

Order of the Government of India. On the 17th January 49 persons, many of whom were wounded, were by Mr. Cowan's orders blown from guns without trial. "If any judicial enquiry, however summary, had taken place, some distinction might have been made between ringleaders and followers, and the usual mode of punishment would have been employed," but there was none. The Governor General holds that "nothing short of absolute necessity could have justified the proceedings." He holds, too, that there was no such necessity, and that the only fact which can be said to suggest the existence of imminent danger is that small bodies of Kookas were seen in the neighbourhood of Malair Kotla, but these men promptly disappeared, not, as appears to this Excellency in Council, "owing to the measures taken by Mr. Cowan, but to the defeat of their associates previously." In this belief His Excellency is supported by the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who states that the bands of Kookas who were observed to be moving on Kotla had in nearly every instance gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. This is a very important point in two different ways. Against Mr. Cowan it tells terribly, and it is as honourable testimony to the high and honourable conduct of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, whose opinions have been grossly misrepresented for several months. Reports have been again and again circulated that the Lieutenant Governor supported Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth.

With respect to many of the facts of the executions we were quite certain of the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor. We were not quite certain, though we had reason to believe, and did believe, that no such opinion nor anything at all like such an opinion as the one alleged had ever been expressed by him. Still it will be a relief, and a great relief, to every friend of constitutional law, not to speak of mercy, to find that the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab is at one with the Government of India in condemnation of acts which set at naught every principle of justice, and humanity. Thus one of the main grounds of Mr. Cowan's action is cut from under his feet. The bands of Kookas who were gathering rebelliously are found to have been small, and to have dispersed before the executions.

It is obvious, His Excellency says, both from the circumstances of the case, and from many expressions in Mr. Cowan's letters that his motive in ordering the executions was to prevent a rising, which he considered imminent, by an act calculated to strike terror into the whole Kooka sect. Both Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan refer to the Raicote executions, in course of law, as having been ineffective. And so Mr. Cowan took the law into his own hands, and, without having taken the least means to separate the more from the less guilty, he perpetrated that awful, indiscriminate slaughter. Here follow some passages which we cannot help re quoting, for if English rule is to be perpetuated in India it must rest on these principles :—

5. Before advertng to the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, the Governor General in Council thinks it right to make some general observations on the principle on which that officer seems to have proceeded, as His Excellency in Council has reason to fear that it may have considerable influence on the minds of officers who feel themselves liable to be placed in positions of difficulty. This principle, perhaps rather felt than avowed, is that law is meant only for quiet times, and that officers are justified in disregarding it, as soon as political danger is apprehended, and in substituting punishments inflicted at their own discretion and without any other measure than their own estimate, formed on the spot under the pressure of immediate excitement, of what is required in the particular case for the sake of example. [An admirable section. Ed.]

6. This view appears to His Excellency in Council to involve a grave error.

7. His Excellency in Council desires to impress in the most emphatic manner on all civil and military officers whom it may concern the broad principle that the law of the land administered by the established courts is the instrument to which Government looks, and in which it trusts, for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace, and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors ; and that it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide upon

the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society, or that the punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular offences with exceptional severity, or to arm particular officer with special power of summary trial and execution ; but till this is done, the duty of all civil and military officers in all cases is to treat criminals when captured in the regular course of law, that is to say, to hand them over for trial to the proper tribunals.

[Will our reader observe the next four paragraphs, a noble reply to those who say that the dismissal of Mr. Cowan will paralyse other officers in time of danger ?]

8. In order to show that this course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required in the most arduous circumstances, it is necessary to bear in mind that for the suppression of violent crime, and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorises and indeed requires the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. Rebels with arms in their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen, and all who aid and abet them, may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as armed invaders may be attacked. If their behaviour and number is such that it would, upon military grounds, be improper to grant them quarter if they were engaged in ordinary war, they might be killed upon the spot. In short there is no severity which by the usages of war may be inflicted upon the enemies' troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up, which may not in strict accordance with law be inflicted upon bands of criminals, whether rebels or not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest.

9. The one thing which cannot be permitted to any civil or military officer in any case whatever, is the irregular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator. No such officer has right to punish his prisoner, still less has he any

right to punish them according to a law made by himself, after the fact, and in reference to the circumstances of a particular case. The law authorizes officers to do whatever is necessary in order to suppress crime and arrest criminals, but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoners when taken, as they think proper.

10. Officers may perhaps be assisted in understanding and applying to particular cases, as they arise, the principles above stated by a few observations on the policy which they are meant to carry out.

11. To administer justice with mercy is the fixed and settled policy of the Government of India, but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberation and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement, and with little time for reflection, are liable to be neither just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for acts of vigour when they are in truth acts of weakness. Such orders frequently show that those who give them doubt their own strength, and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents.

12. The Governor General in Council cannot consent to assume the attitude in which the ratification of such acts would place him. His Excellency in Council trusts, on the one hand, in the effect which a course of just and merciful rule cannot fail to produce in time in the minds of the people. He relies, on the other hand, on the existence of a military force sufficient to protect the mass of quiet and well disposed persons against the small minority who for whatever reasons might be willing to plunge the country into anarchy and civil war.

13. His Excellency in Council cannot consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime, and there is no occasion for indiscriminate severity ; nor



in any case could the exercise of such severity be a source of strength.

14. With reference to the special circumstances of Mr. Cowan's case, his Excellency in Council has to observe as follows.

15. In the first place his Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Referring to the principles already stated, there is no circumstance which tends to justify or even greatly to excuse Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded. They had surrendered to very inferior numbers and were under the guard of a considerable military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse. His Excellency in Council cannot regard as an excuse Mr. Cowan's belief that the execution was politically expedient. In fact that he set aside the existing law, because he thought it expedient to do so in the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which his Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed.

This, however, is not all. On the 16th January Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men in a summary manner. On the same day Mr. Forsyth wrote a demi-official letter to Mr. Cowan requesting him to send the prisoners to Shirpore. This letter has been lost, and therefore Mr. Forsyth's statement that he believes he added, "For trial" is merely set off against Mr. Cowan's belief that no such words were used. At all events before the telegraphic message sent by Mr. Cowan to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men had been answered, Mr. Cowan had executed 49. His application for permission to kill the four men showed his full consciousness that he had not himself the power to put any man to death. And then before he received the authorisation, which it is now quite certain he would not have received, he perpetrated that wholesale butchery. It scarcely seems when we arrive at



his stage of the Government Order that a worse case could have been made out against any man, but a worse case still is made out against Mr. Cowan.

The executions were drawing to an end ; 42 or 43 men had been blown into atoms. One would have thought that any man, however stern his sense of duty had been, would by that time have been sick at heart, and glad of any opportunity to spare the few men who remained. Remember that a large mass of these 49 men had been previously wounded, had been lying with their wounds unattended to, and had been taken up to the cannon-mouths utterly helpless. When 42 or 43 had been shot, came Mr. Cowan's last chance of showing mercy. A letter arrived from Mr. Forsyth requesting him not to depart from the ordinary forms of law. Mr. Cowan coolly handed the letter to "Colonel Perkins, District Superintendent of Police, with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to guns ; that such a proceedings would have the worst effect upon the people around us." Why if a man had been killing 49 dogs, and had had such a justification for stopping the slaughter (even if the killing had been one of stern duty) if there had been a spark of compassion in him he would have thanked God for such a justification to stay his hand. His Excellency in Council, however, takes higher ground than that. He "cannot see that there could have been any serious difficulty in staying the execution without even communicating the reasons for doing so to the bystanders. It was Mr. Cowan's clear duty to obey Mr. Forsyth's order, in a case in which the lives of six or seven persons were at stake, and where the act forbidden was upon the face of it illegal." We have heard it said on all hands—"We are sorry for Mr. Cowan. Have you no pity for Mr. Cowan?" No, we have no—not a bit. A man who could hasten in the say that Mr. Cowan hastened to shed human blood deserves no pity till he needs it a good deal more than he does at present. We do not intend to say anything, now, as to the propriety or otherwise Mr. Cowan retiring with a pension. The Government has acted so uprightly, has given such a decision,—the justice and nobleness of which will endure when all the selfish interests of this time have gone—that we are satisfied it will act up to its conviction of the

amount of severity required to stigmatise and punish the Kooka Executions. But it would be utter hypocrisy if we led anybody to suppose that we could pity a man who for killing fifty men had merely been dismissed the service. The passages we have quoted from the Government Order ought to be the Magna Charta of India. Natives of India ought to print the passages in letters of gold, and hand them down to their children, as a precious heritage establishing the right of every Native of India to justice and mercy under the Crown of England. Lord Napier's rule has been short, but we question that in some of the longest rules there was anything done that will exercise a more powerful effect upon times to come than this order on the Kooka Executions, or that will be marked as more honourable to the Government that did it. It has been done, too, in the face of more clamour than our countrymen at home will ever rightly comprehend. Anything like moral principle in the matter has been scouted. It has been asserted over and over again that India could only be governed on exceptional principles—that is, utterly false principles of Government. The Governor General in Council has calmly pushed aside these infamous doctrines, and laid down a principle of immense value both to India and England.

We now come to a very different matter. Mr. Forsyth, as Commissioner of Umballa had power of life and death, which Mr. Cowan had not. At the beginning of the affair nothing could have been more judicially fair and self-possessed than Mr. Forsyth's conduct. On the 16th, the day of the attack, he wrote a demi-official letter requesting Mr. Cowan to proceed according to law ; on the 17th he wrote two letters, one official and the other demi-official to the same effect. On the same day he telegraphed to the Punjab Government. "Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement, better ajayed" &C., &C. On the 18th Mr. Forsyth had received the account of the executions, and he wrote—My dear Cowan, I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You hvve acted admirably. I am coming out." It appears that Mr. Forsyth

between the two letters, had heard rumours of Kooka bands assembling in the neighbourhood. "The prominent feeling in his mind, however, seems to have been that Mr. Cowan ought to have been supported in an act that Mr. Forsyth had repeatedly condemned. His Excellency therefore while considering that Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of any legal action is of opinion that he has identified himself with Mr. Cowan's errors, failed to discern his duty to a Native State in a serious emergency, and acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognised policy of the Government of India."

This was one part of Mr. Forsyth's fault, and if it had ended here it might have been looked upon in a very different light from that in which it now appears, although there never was any stronger confirmation of the acts of a subordinate than the words we have quoted above. But, Mr. Forsyth "came out," and found that 16 more persons had been sentenced to death, and that sentence he confirmed; thus, by words and action, rendering himself an accomplice of Mr. Cowan, after the fact in one case, and before it in the other. His Excellency also regrets to notice that "two documents essential to the information of the Supreme Government in this case were not brought to his knowledge in regular course, and at the commencement of this correspondence, viz., the demi-official letter written by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 16th January since mislaid, and the letter addressed by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 18th confirming his proceedings." The conclusion of the Government order we must give entire :—

"It is with great concern that His Excellency in Council feels compelled to pass orders which affect so seriously officers whose fault has no doubt been due mainly to overzeal for the maintenance of peace and order, but he considers it absolutely necessary to cause it to be understood that, whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measures however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of the peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion. The line between the two things is broad and clear, and the Governor General in

Council would be equally prompt to notice any remissness in the use of the means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice. He has no fear that the course which it has been necessary to take with regard to the present case will deter other officers from a becoming energy and promptitude in the presence of danger. On the other hand His Excellency in Council fears as little that the course now taken will be misunderstood by the Native population. He trusts that this example will teach them that under British rule all alike must obey the law, and they may be well assured that the punishment now inflicted on a British officer who has broken the law is not in any way connected with indifference or indulgence to the crimes of those whom he punished unlawfully. Their offence was deserving of exemplary punishment, though it should have been inflicted in a proper manner, with greater moderation, and with more discrimination between the degrees of guilt of the persons concerned. And lastly, His Excellency trusts the present decision will make it clear to all classes that such proceedings as Mr. Cowan's are forbidden by law, and are bad in policy, because they leave no time for moderation and discrimination, and so take away the distinction between the deliberate satisfaction of the requirements of justice, and a hasty acceptance of the suggestions of excitement and alarm.

33. In communicating this review of the conduct of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, the Governor-General in Council considers it due to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to refer to the sentiments enunciated by his Honour in connection with those which his Excellency in Council has felt bound to record. The Lieutenant-Governor, from the first, embraced and expressed the opinion that the conduct of Mr. Cowan was unjustifiable in regard to the precipitation, illegality and indiscriminate rigour of his proceedings. A consideration of the exciting circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, of the political danger which he apprehended, and of the necessity of supporting officers of Government in acts even of excessive severity when done in good faith and for the public interest, induced the Lieutenant-Governor to withhold an expression of blame which would have been otherwise in accordance with his sentiments, and of which the Governor

General in Council would have approved. His Excellency is, however, happy to be able to recognize that there is no essential difference between the views entertained by the Governor General in Council and those of high officer entrusted with the administration and security of a Province so important as the Punjab."

It would be impossible to add anything to this clear and concise document. There will be a difference of opinion, we have no doubt, as to the measure of punishment meted out to Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth. The latter, if he wishes it, has still an Indian career open to him; the former has not, and politically speaking Mr. Forsyth's "error" was certainly not the least of the two. We think it the greater. At the same time a Government is bound to act with some respect for the forms of law, and, having given Mr. Forsyth power of life and death, it was bound to say that what he had done was at least legal in the narrow sense, and now having taken the power from him, it has administered a severe reproof. We think also, that our readers will find on looking through the documents that Mr. Forsyth's part of the affairs arose from weakness while Mr. Cowan's arose from dire intent. We are quite satisfied that if the Commissioner had been in the place of the Deputy Commissioner there would have been no executions, without some form of trial. Still, it is a cardinal fault in a politician that, after holding out as long Mr. Forsyth did, he should have given way at the last moment, and identified himself with a course of action which his judgement at first condemned. We do not care, however, to argue the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of the punishment inflicted. We care primarily for the utter condemnation of the acts both of Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth by the Indian Government. But let us say that if both officers had been expelled from the service the voice of humanity throughout the world would have approved the expulsion. As the matter stands we at all events have nothing to say in disapproval. The course taken by the Government has been honest and statesman-like. The Order itself, as we have already said, is a closely reasoned and masterly document. Its sentiments are the sentiments of the Queen's Proclamation, and it holds up far above the rights of two individual officers, as officers, the older—the inalienable—

right to justice and mercy, to wise and good Government, of the 200,000,000 of the people of India. When we depart from these sentiments, whatever may the strength of our rule, we shall have no right in India.

There is one thing more that must be said, and, though we are quite sure that Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan would much sooner have it left unsaid by us, we say it for our own satisfaction. Up to the Kooka affair the names of both officers were known for noble work ; Mr. Cowan's for praiseworthy exertion during a time of famine and disease ; Mr. Forsyth's for skilful diplomatic work, in Russia (which drew forth a warm eulogium from Lord Clarendon), and for an expedition which had an equally warm eulogium from Sir Henry Durand. We merely note these facts and leave them. We shall Forsyth and Mr. Cowan by any sentimental remain act" &c., &c. But 'as the executions at Kot dispute, neither can any one dispute, the previ of the two officers concerned.

## **The Englishman**

*Saturday, May 11, 1872.*

**The Government of India and Mr. Cowan :** (Pioneer, May, 9). The Government of India enjoys an invidious good fortune in the position which it is enabled to take up in the Cowan case. It can make the best of both worlds profiting profiting by the crime while execrating the criminal. An insurrection which might have been very troublesome, costing much money and some prestige—as showing the British Government was considered by some of its subjects as not so powerful as to be beyond assault—has been put down by the exhibition of unsparing rigour with hardly a rupee of expense, and without the loss of a soldier ; and at the same time the Government can repudiate all complicity in the terrible measures which produced this convenient result. Yet this good luck is, as we said, invidious ; because the public conscience has a blind



feeling that, unless you can throw off a man's benefits, you are hardly at liberty to abuse him with much vigour ; that if you are profiting, however involuntarily, by vice, you should be reserved in parading your virtue. Still there can be no doubt that the Government has taken very safe ground. The most malignant friends of humanity will not find a syllable to cavil at in the lofty and sonorous sentences in which the Governor General lectures and ruins Mr. Cowan. In fact it is an exceedingly able paper, and embodies a great deal of very noble truth ; and, what is more, its case as against Mr. Cowan seems to us, we are obliged to confess, absolutely irresistible. Nevertheless we object to the paper as a whole ; we dissent from some of its statements of fact, we deny some of its reasoning and we disapprove of its conclusions. We think Mr. Cowan deserved punishment, but that he ought not to have been punished. The Government of India has stupidly said a number of very wise things. The indictment against the Deputy Commissioner of Loodiana is masterly, but it ought never to have been laid. It will be seen that we have thus the misfortune of being of nobody's opinion, and of being in danger of offending everybody. First, as to Mr. Cowan. If he had been alone—if the onus of decision had rested on him ; if he had been bound to form a sudden decision in a sudden emergency, and to act upon it with no opportunity of reference to higher authority ; and even if, in the exercise of this discretion, he had resorted to all the severity which he did actually employ—we should have felt bound, in justice to an officer who was discharging to his best his imposed duty, to abstain from public censure. But he was not alone, or in supreme authority ; his action was officious ; there was no occasion for his resorting to any heroic remedies, or forming any decision of his own whatever. In fact we agree with the Governor-General in Council that Mr. Cowan's conduct was "a grave act of insubordination and presumption", only the insubordination and presumption was not as the Governor-General thinks in "usurping the highest prerogative of Government"—under other circumstances Mr. Cowan would have been quite right in usurping that—but his "unsubordination and presumption" consisted in his usurping the functions of Mr. Forsyth, his immediate superior who was close at hand and in easy

communication with him. Not only did Mr. Cowan push into a prominence which did not belong to him but he disobeyed the clear orders—orders perfectly wise and practicable—of his superior. Before any of the executions had taken place Mr. Forsyth ordered him to send the prisoners to Loodiana ; and again, with reference to the very question of summary execution Mr. Forsyth wrote—" The case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand." We cannot therefore extend to Mr. Cowan the benefit of the plea that he did his duty he was attempting to do ; it was another person's duty into which he was intruding. All the world praised Mr. White for his promptitude in ordering the police to fire on the mob last year at Pillibheet, because there the responsibility of decision was upon him, and him only ; if he had failed, his alone would have been the blame. But if Mr. Cowan had obeyed the distinct orders of his superior officer, whatever had happened—and it is by no means certain that in that case things would have gone one whit less happily than they did—no syllable of censure could ever have attached to him. We acknowledge that Mr. Cowan's very presumption shews him to possess rare moral audacity, which is at times an invaluable quality, especially in these flabby days when all the initiative seems washed out of men. If remained in the Commission he might hereafter have been an useful man to launch on a ticklish district thought he would always require a good deal of "sitting on." It will be seen, therefore, that if we blame as we do strongly the action of Government, it is not in the least from approval of Mr. Cowan ; it is from the defect of ruling capacity of governing power which that action betrays. It is not in our opinion injustice to Mr. Cowan of which Government has been guilty, but of something like treachery to the English in India, and indeed to India at large, since peace and quiet are quite as desirable for the native population as supremacy is for the English. The Resolution just published in the Gazette of India is indisputably a masterly composition stately and harmonious in diction with great rhetorical force of argument . It is also very adroit. Those serene exposition of a justice far above the petty consideration of temporary expediency are all the while models of personal prudence.



Evidently the members of Government have no notion of becoming marks for such amenities as were lavished on Governor Eyre. But the sagacity which we recognize in this manifesto is entirely of a private nature. As addressed to Exeter Hall it is a model of policy, but in the impression it will produce on the people of India, and the servants of Government, it is quite the reverse. As regards its effect on the native mind it is absolutely fatuous, because it tends and tends strongly at once, to discourage the loyal and encourage the disaffected. What must be the impression on the troops for instance of Nabha, Jheend and Puttiala, who were present at the execution, who, while they thought they were doing loyal service to the paramount power must now suppose that we consider them to have been merely accomplices in a murder? To their disgust at our ingratitude will be added contempt for our imbecility. What kind of ruler is this who apologizes to rebels for putting them down? We see already from the native papers how gladly natives even of the least bellicose race welcome the doctrine that insurrection is not such a heinous offence after all. As regards the effect of Government's conduct on the future temper of its servants, it will be something like this. Government will be understood to say:—"The truth is we want omelettes without the breaking of eggs. We like vigour up to a certain point; but if you get us into a scrape we must throw you over indeed we shall be obliged to throw the first stone. So, in all emergencies, keep one eye fixed on that tender-hearted clique at home, which is always wanting a victim to worry, unless you are willing to be that victim yourself." We are at an utter loss to imagine in what quarter—in this country at least—the Governor-General's exposition of policy is likely to have a good effect. It is the Kukas who are to be won from future insurrections by being told they were punished too severely for the last? It is the other Sikhs and the Mussulmans of the Punjab who are to be confirmed in loyalty by seeing the Governors, whose vigilance and vigour they could appreciate, discountenanced—that there is division in the British camp, and that we cannot wash our dirty linen at home? It is the fashion to say that the Punjab is no longer the land of strong rule it was; that the good men have one by one deserted it, and only the weeds are left. But it is remark-

able how much wiser has been the conduct of the Local Government in this matter, blaming, but not abandoning, its too zealous servants, keeping meanwhile a stately front towards the native population of all classes, and shielding as much as possible from sight the weakness of the Supreme Government. Even Mr. Forsyth's conduct seems to rebuke that of the Governor-General. Although before the executions he was peremptory in forbidding them, urging as first against Mr. Cowan's intended course all that the Government of India can find to say now ; yet no sooner was the matter irrevocable than he disdained to save himself at the expense of his subordinate, and took only too fully the responsibility of the transaction upon himself. Our feelings on the whole question are simply these :—We disapprove of Mr. Cowan's indiscriminating execution of the prisoners as distinctly as our pigskin Friend of Serampore can do ; but, horrible to confess, we hold that to be a very little thing compared with the absorbing duty of suppressing rebellion by any means and at any cost. We hold for the supremacy of England right or wrong, if there could be any "wrong" in such a case ; but since it is the security from without and the order within, which the British rule affords, that is the indispensable prior condition for all progress and all safety in India, all means should seem right to an Englishman that are effective to secure the permanence of British power. In short we might express our discontent with the action of the Government pretty nearly in the language of Joab to David, omitting of course the words rendered inappropriate by the change in social habits :—"Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants which this day have saved thy life, and the lives of thy sons and of thy daughters, and the lives of thy wives and the lives of thy concubines ; in that thou lovest thine enemies and hatest thy friends." And without pretending that the remainder of the lesson admits of literal application, there is enough analogy in it to deserve the serious meditation of our rulers. "Now therefore arise and go forth and speak comfortably to thy servants : for I swear by the Lord if thou go not forth there will not tarry one with thee this night."

**The Hindu Patriot***Dated 13th May, 1872.*

**The Kuka Executions :—**The Government order on the Kuka executions is a masterly and noble document. It does honour to those, who have conceived and framed it, while it vindicates the just, merciful and righteous policy of the Queen's Government in ringing words. The lessons, which it inculcates to the officers of Govt. will be honoured in all climes and in all times. The Governor General in Council tells the subordinate officers that they labour under "a grave error", if they suppose that "law is meant only for quiet times, and that officers are justified, in disregarding it, as soon as political danger is apprehended, and in substituting punishments inflicted at their own discretion and without any other measure than their own estimate, formed on the spot under the pressure of immediate excitement, of what is required, in the particular case for the sake of example". His Excellency in Council then remarks :

"His Excellency in Council desires to impress in the most emphatic manner on all civil and military officers whom it may concern the broad principle that the law of the land administered by the established courts is the instruments to which Government looks, and in which it trusts for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace, and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors ; and that it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide upon the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society, or that the punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular offences with powers of summary trial and execution ; but till this is done, the duty of all civil and military officers in all cases is to treat criminals when captured in the regular course of law, that is to say, to hand them over for trial to the proper tribunals.

In order to show that this course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required

in the most audacious circumstances, it is necessary to bear in mind that for the suppression of violent crime, and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorizes and indeed requires the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. Rebels with arms in their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen, and all who aid and abet them; may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as armed invaders may be attacked. If their behaviour and number is such that it would, upon military grounds, be improper to grant them quarter if they were engaged in ordinary war, they might be killed upon the spot. In short there is no severity which by the usages of war may be inflicted upon the enemies' troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up, which may not in strict accordance with law be inflicted upon bands of criminals, whether rebels or not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest.

The one thing which cannot be permitted to any civil or military officer in any case whatever, is the irregular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator. No such officer has right to punish his prisoners, still less has he any right to punish them according to a law made by himself, after the fact, and in reference to the circumstances of a particular case. The law authorizes officers to do, whatever is necessary in order to suppress crime and arrest criminals, but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoner when taken, as they think proper.

Officers may perhaps be assisted in understanding and applying to particular case, as they arise, the principles above stated by a few observations on the policy which they are meant to carry out.

To administer justice with mercy is the fixed and settled policy of the Government of India, but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberation and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement, and with little time for reflection are liable to be either

just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for acts of vigour when they are in truth acts of weakness. Such orders frequently show that those who give them doubt their own strength, and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents.

The Governor General in Council cannot consent to assume the attitude in which the ratification of such acts would place him. His Excellency in Council trusts, on the one hand, in the effect which a course of just and merciful rule cannot fail to produce in time in the minds of the people. He relies, on the other hand, on the existence of a military force sufficient to protect the mass of quiet and well disposed persons against the small minority who for whatever reasons might be willing to plunge the country into anarchy and civil war.

His Excellency in Council cannot consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime and there is no occasion for indiscriminate severity; nor in any case could the exercise of such severity be a source of strength."

Noble words these, and they will command the assent and admiration of all right-thinking men. A government, which professes such broad and righteous principles, need not fear any danger from the disguised sentiments of a few fanatics or evil-disposed plotters. Indeed the more these principles will become known, the more they will raise the character of the British Government in the estimation of the people. We are of opinion that the Govt. ought to get this order translated into all the vernaculars and publish the translation extensively throughout the country. It will be the best antidote to the poison, which the Wahabi prosecutions and other mistakes committed of late have been spreading. It will present to the best advantage the moral grandeur of the Queen's Government. It will show that however a misguided few of Her Majesty's subjects may behave here and there, our rulers are as true as

ever to their golden principles. It will shew that even the foul assassinations of the highest personages in the land have not influenced them to swerve even an inch from the path of rectitude, justice, and mercy. It will shew that those who are commissioned to carry out the Queen's gracious commands, and directly represent Her Majesty in this country are fully alive to their responsible position and paramount duty, however their subordinates may be carried away by excess of zeal or misconception of the real import of events passing around them. It will show that the Government does not hesitate to sacrifice its honoured and trusted servants, if they compromise the righteous principles on which British rule in this country is based. In short it will convince the people that they cannot have better masters than these Englishmen, that whatever their shortcomings, their foremost desire is to do justice, even handed and unalloyed justice, and that they have every thing to lose but nothing to gain from the change of such masters.

The judgement which the Government of India has passed on Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth amounts to a judicial sentence. The summing-up has been made in a fair and impartial spirit, which challenges admiration. It shows that in every step Mr. Cowan disregarded law, form, and principle. The Governor General in Council remarks :

"In the first place his Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Referring to the principles already stated there is no circumstance which tends to justify or even greatly to excuse Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded. They had surrendered to very inferior numbers, and were under the guard of a considerable military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse. His Excellency in Council cannot regard as an excuse Mr. Cowan's belief that the execution was politically expedient. In fact that he set aside the existing law, because he thought it expedient to do so in

the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which his Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed”.

“While the Governor General in Council recognises that the lives of all the criminals involved in the recent outbreak in the Punjab were in principle forfeited to the laws, his Excellency is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity and that it was characterized by incidents, which gave it a complexion of barbarity. That course was commenced in opposition to the spirit of instructions received from superior authority, and, in the absence of sanction invoked but not awaited; it was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.

“His Excellency in Council is compelled to direct that Mr. Cowan be removed from the Service. He does so with deep regret, as Mr. Cowan’s previous character and conduct have been unexceptionable, and as he acted with promptitude in concerting measures for the repression of the movement”.

Thus the majesty of law has been vindicated.

As regards Mr. Forsyth the Government order runs as follows :—

“In conformity with the view enunciated above, His Excellency in Council is of opinion that, while Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of any illegal action he has in no small degree identified himself with the errors committed by Mr. Cowan; that he failed to discern his duty as councillor to a Native Government in a serious emergency, and that he acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognized policy of the Government of India.

His Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth’s conduct will be adequately dealt with by his removal from the Commissionership of Umballa to a position in another Province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any Native State, and by an expression of the opinion of the



Government of India that it should not in future be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence”.

Opinions however differ as to the measure of punishment meted out to Mr. Cowan and to Mr. Forsyth respectively. Mr. Cowan certainly took the law into his own hands, but Mr. Forsyth's conduct was not the less inexcusable. As the superior and necessarily more responsible officer, the conduct of the latter in one sense was more serious, but the difference in the measure of punishment is not exactly in unison with the principle of even-handed justice, which forms the basis of the Government decision. The concluding words of the Government order are too important to be passed over :

“It is with great concern that his Excellency in Council feels compelled to pass orders which affect so seriously officers whose fault has no doubt been due mainly to over-zeal, for the maintenance of peace and order, but he considers it absolutely necessary to cause it to be understood that, whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measures, however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of the peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion. The line between the two things is broad and clear, and the Governor General in Council would be equally prompt to notice any remissness in the use of the means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice. He has no fear that the course which it has been necessary to take with regard to the present case will deter other officers from a becoming energy and promptitude in the presence of danger. On the other hand his Excellency in Council fears as little that the course now taken will be misunderstood by the Native population. He trusts that this example will teach them that under British rule all alike must obey the law, and they may be well assured that the punishment now inflicted on a British Officer who has broken the law is not in any way connected with indifference or indulgence to the crimes of those whom he punished unlawfully. Their offence was deserving of exemplary punishment, though it should have been inflicted in a proper manner with greater moderation and with more



discrimination between the degrees of guilts of the persons concerned. And lastly, his Excellency trusts the present decision will make it clear to all classes that such proceedings as Mr. Cowan's are forbidden by law, and are bad in policy, because they leave no time for moderation and discrimination, and so take away the distinction between the deliberate satisfaction of the requirements of justice, and a hasty acceptance of the suggestions of excitement and alarm".

With such words as the above ringing in our ears we are utterly indifferent about the howlings of selfish and narrow-minded journalists, who care not an iota for the character of the Queen's rule, for justice, or the sacredness of human life, but seek only the dominancy and aggrandizement of the rampant Anglo Saxon. Their unholy sentiments, however, find no echo in the breasts of genuine and right-thinking Englishmen. Need we add that the moral strength of these Englishmen constitutes the best strength of the English nation and that so long as they will continue to guide the national thoughts and aspirations, there is no fear for the national character and supremacy of England.

*Dated—20th May, 1872.*

A correspondent of the Delhi Gazette says that there was great delight amongst the Kukas in the neighbourhood of Ludhiana on hearing that Mr. Cowan had been dismissed from service, and they confidently predict the return of their Guru Ram Singh, from Rangoon, with great marks of distinction conferred upon him.

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## **The Englishmen**

*27th May, 1872*

**The Kukas Again**—The Punjab Government has received confidential reports from the districts adjoining the scene of the late Kuka disturbances to the effect that the Government decision in the Kuka case spread like wild fire throughout the country, and immediate renewal of animation

and activities was observed amongst Kukas. Religious and fanatical ceremony which had been discontinued since the execution were immediately revived. With the consent of the entire Sect a Poll-tax has been established and considerable sums of money are being collected for what purpose has not yet been ascertained.

The Punjab Government has also been warned by its most distinguished officers that another Kuka out-break is certain before long—(Indian Public Opinion).

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*29th May, 1872*

The amount at present paid into the Punjab Bank for Mr. Cowan has reached Rs. 1669/-. Several other subscriptions have been promised, but not yet paid into the Bank.

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### **Amrita Bazar Patrika**

*30th May, 1872*

**Mr. Cowan :** The Cowan case has brought to light two important facts, 1st that the British India Government in spite of its vagaries is just to the core and 2nd that a certain section of the Anglo-Indian community when their passions and prejudices are excited may take up arms against the government. These latter hold the extraordinary opinion that natives hate those who treat them with justice and humanity and lick their hands who flog them. If this had been true of dogs, cats, this might have been true of the natives, of course admitting that natives are no better than dogs or cats ; but since dogs and cats can appreciate goodness it is very unjust to say that natives cannot. In this controversy it has all along been assumed that Mr. Cowan committed an error of the head and that his heart was in the right place.

We would like to see this position proved. After carefully perusing the records of the case a suspicion came across our

minds whether Mr. Cowan by blowing away 50 lives into atoms meant to serve government or himself. He was perfectly aware that all danger was over, he had sufficient time before him to cool his head and exercise his judgment; in the midst of his bloody career he received positive command from his superior to let the law take its course and not to inflict summary punishment but it seems he was determined like Hodson to leave a name behind him, and to gain a character for promptitude, decision and sternness. Another such opportunity, he perhaps thought he may not find in his whole lifetime to distinguish himself. This is not so much serving government as serving one's self.

Another point which ought to have been satisfactorily proved was whether the Kukas were intent upon rebelling against the British India Government or were simply a body of lawless men or dacoits without any leader to direct them. It appears after the perusal of the government papers that the Kukas cared very little with whom they fought provided they had a good fight; or whom they plundered if they had good plunder. In short it seems they were a body, a very small body of excited and lawless dacoits who if they had been tried by law would have suffered various terms of imprisonment.

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### **The Kooka Case**

*May 30, 1872*

**Sir,**—The decision of the Government of India in regard to Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth, while eminently comforting to all right-minded men, is for that very reason calculated to arise a storm of indignation in that section of the Indian Press and public whose attitude from the first in regard to this question has been perhaps the most painful feature of the whole painful affair.

I say advisedly that this condition of the public mind is perhaps more deplorable even than the events themselves, in as much as it reveals a lamentably degraded standard of education and morality in the erring section of the Press and

Public, as well as a formidable amount of potential murder latent in the public service.

That sundry of the more ignorant and stupid journals of India should be simply incapable of gauging such questions, is not to be wondered at. That one or two of them should possibly even be base enough to pander to a misguided constituency for the sake of their subscription lists, by a wilful misrepresentation of the case, is even conceivable. That impulsive Subalterns and excited Captains, "insufficiently equipped with facts," should extol Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth as heroes and martyrs, and should denounce the action of Government in regard to them, is what unhappily we must expect from generous but misguided warriors. But that certain journals of no mean type should have ranged themselves on the same side, is a phenomenon only to be accounted for on the supposition that they have been wholly misinformed on the facts of the case. While if it be indeed true that not a few officers of the Civil Service entertain approval of illegal and unnecessary massacre, the circumstance is at once a painful commentary on the value of their vaunted superior education, a grave symptom of their mournful unfitness for the administration of this country, and a striking illustration of the supreme necessity which existed for the emphatic condemnation and signal punishment of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth.

It is sad enough to think that two men should have been found in this service, capable of so far forgetting themselves as to do the deeds they did ; but sadder far and far more serious is it to think that apparently the service contains hundreds more who fail to perceive the atrocious complexion of those deeds ; and who would do the like to-morrow. In such a case the sole available comfort is to be sought in the fervent hope that all this mass of erring opinion and mistaken sympathy is due simply to the fact that they who cherish it are wholly unacquainted with the facts of the case. For if this hope is to be withheld ; if we are to believe that the service in truth abounds with men who, fully aware of the facts of the case, can yet approve of the action of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth, then I say the prospect is a dreary one indeed.

Thank God, however, we have the Government decision on our side ; and we have another comfort in the fact that several and the best—"pauci," perhaps, "sed ferme optimus quisque"—of our Indian journals from the first instinctively and instantaneously appreciated the true complexion of these occurrences, and from the first have held them up to reprobation.

In this course you, Sir, have been more especially prominent and if perhaps you have occasionally been stung by a natural indignation into the use of strong expressions, you yourself have frankly avowed your regret for this, and I think that your vehement and persistent denunciation of these deeds deserved the gratitude of society. The Government decision and the structures of the better portion of the Indian Press have saved the honour of the country, and right thinking men may now breathe freely.

For Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth we may all feel sincere pity, as for ruined men. But their ruin is the result of their own errors, and while we pity we cannot sympathise with them. In the plenitude of our power, and with an overwhelming force at hand, an insignificant band of misguided men, destitute of arms or resources, broke into a hopeless rebellion. Overpowered with ease by the Police of a petty Native State before Mr. Cowan appeared upon the scene, that gentleman found sixty-six of them bound hand and foot in helpless captivity, without hope of rescue or resistance. Worthy of death they may have been ; but that death should have been a deliberate and judicial one. Instead of this Mr. Cowan, frustrated by the situation and spurred by a mistaken conception of energy and vigour, blew fifty of them from the cannon's mouth ; and shortly after, Mr. Forsyth, without the excuse of panic or excitement, endorsed the deed and blew sixteen more to death.

It is understood that Mr. Cowan seeks to justify his action by declaring his belief that a stern example was required ; that a rescue was to be apprehended ; and that a further and more formidable rising was imminent. To this plea the reply is plain an example quite as stern, and far more truly impressive, could not have been attempted with any hope of success in the sad

of the crushing quietus which had just been given to the moment ; and if there was any reasonable ground to apprehend such, how comes it that, before massacring his prisoners Mr. Cowan, as we are informed, actually countermanded the march of approaching reinforcements ; while his guns themselves, the instruments of his slaughter, are also his condemnation ; for how could a man with a battery of field guns at his command, and well supported by other troops, reasonably dread the efforts of a few unarmed rustics !

For Mr. Forsyth, although his action may have been technically covered by the letter of the law, yet, looking to his superior position, training and experience, and to the fact that it was taken in cold blood, after ample time for reflection, it was, save as to the number of the victims, even more reprehensible than that of his subordinate, and many will wonder at the comparative impunity which has been extended to it.

It is untrue to say that Mr. Cowan has been dismissed merely because his action was illegal and informal. He has been dismissed, and most righteously so, because his action was inhuman, impolitic, insubordinate, and unnecessary. It was an action of more than Chinese barbarity, and more than puerile stupidity, an action which out-Haynaus Haynau. More than a crime, it was a blunder ; folly of inconceivable dimensions ; for no human code either of morality or expediency can sanction the summary slaughter of helpless prisoners after surrender! Such is surely not the way to encourage similar surrender in future.

The law and the common sense of such cases was luminously defined by the highest British Tribunal in the case of Governor Eyre ; and like most great principles it is very plain and lies in a nut-shell. It is this. So long as rebellion is rampant and rebels are in full resistance, it is lawful and right to shoot them down without mercy ; but—the instant it ceases—whether by conquest or surrender, butchery should also cease—not, as in this case, begin ! and where, as in this case, the ordinary machinery of law and order is at hand and unimpaired, the prisoners of the movement should be sent for disposal to the courts of the country.

A great cry is raised that the fate of Mr. Cowan will paralyse the hands and slay the zeal of public officers in future

emergencies. But I do not think it too much to expect of our highly paid and highly educated officers, that they should be able to grasp the above simple principle, and shape their course accordingly—Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth have suffered for their inability to do so, and as before said we pity them ; but our pity has no grain of sympathy or commendation. We do not question the goodness of their intentions ; but something more than good intention is legitimately to be looked for from officers in their position. Highly placed officers are not paid high salaries to make mistakes ; not for the petty routine of official life, but for the latent fund of potential capacity to act rightly in emergencies which is supposed to be in them. One word more. It is to be hoped that Government, having done its duty in punishing these officers, will now show the quality of mercy to Mr. Cowan. It may be hoped that this gentleman will receive a competent pension, in recognition of his past respectable services, and for the support of his innocent family. It is further even to be hoped that a fund may be subscribed for the same object\* ; but if this is to succeed, I would say earnestly to his too impulsive sympathisers, abstain from anything of an ovational character ; refrain from exalting Mr. Cowan into a hero and a martyr, as well as from all denunciation of the action of Government in the matter, or the movement will probably fail ; and Mr. Cowan, like many before him, will have cause, to regret the zeal of his friends ; for this letter, the great lengths of which I ask you to forgive, is at least a proof how erroneous it is to suppose, and how unwarrantable in the able journal of Allahabad to assert, that “the unanimous opinion of Englishmen and Natives” is in favour of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth. I enclose my card, but not for publication, and beg to remain,

Yours faithfully,

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\*We need scarcely say that we do not agree with this. While the proposal was merely made in other papers, we were resolved to say not a word, but made in our own columns we cannot suffer it to pass without saying that we would not give a penny to a fund for Mr. Cowan, nor can we hear of it without the strongest disapproval—we had almost used a much stronger term. There are 66 families bereaved by Mr. Cowan’s means, and without a shadow of justification. If he gets the fund it shall not be with even the complicity of silence on our part.

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*June 13, 1872***Sir Donald Mcleod on the Kooka Executions.**

The Home News wonders what the Friend of India will say "when so good a Christian as Sir Donald Mcleod has proclaimed his conviction that the sentence passed on Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth is all things considered a blunder ; if nothing worse." Why, what we say is that of Sir Donald Mcleod's Christianity we know nothing, and care nothing, as far as the Kooka Executions are concerned, for it has nothing whatever to do with the matter—save in this, that we know what Christianity teaches, and, if Sir Donald McLeod preaches any other Gospel, we shall have none of it, be his character for Christianity and humanity what it may. And that he does teach such a Gospel we are prepared to prove. The subject was referred to in Parliament by Mr. Arthur Kinnaid, a gentleman whose Parliamentary influence is about as small as that of any man who has been of a high order. Now we ask our readers to look to the letter itself. It begins in this way. "I have learned with deep regret the decision by the Government of India in regard to Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan,—removing the former from the Punjab to another province, and dismissing the latter from the service." Our readers will observe that, when Sir Donald McLeod regretted this he was not aware of the grounds of the removal. We were charged some time ago with prejudging the case, but we did not prejudge it, for we knew the facts exactly as they have transpired. Sir Donald McLeod has prejudged it, and in a manner which reflects no credit on his judgment, or his sense of justice as a public man, or even his loyalty to the Government of India. "It is not for me," he goes on to say, "to criticise the acts of the Government of India who are in possession of more information than we possess here, and who have doubtless conscientiously decided in accordance with what they consider to be the interests of the Government and the country ; but as the matter is one in regard to which wide difference of opinion do and will, exist,"—our reader will see, in the letter, how the rest of the argument runs.

Those two paragraphs would of themselves have been quite sufficient to cause us to place very little reliance on the



opinion of Sir Donald McLeod. On his knowledge of the Punjab we would place reliance. Of his character for good intentions we have no doubt, but when a man begins by telling us that he regrets a decision of the grounds of which he knows nothing, and the conscientiousness of which he does not doubt, and when he further tells us that those who gave the decision knew a great deal of which he knew nothing, then whatever be that man's character or position, or knowledge, or experience, we hold that his opinion is not worth the paper it is written upon. In these two paragraphs it is as clear as language can make it that Sir Donald McLeod had no data on which to form an opinion whether the Government was right or wrong. It is very evident, too, that he had not made up his mind as to the "judiciousness" of the executions. It is simply clear that he had made up his mind that, right or wrong, the Government was bound to support its officers ; a sentiment that runs through the whole of his letter. If our readers will turn to the last paragraph but three they will find how well this opinion is sustained. Sir Donald McLeod says—"I do not pretend to judge whether the execution of the Kookas was or was not, under the circumstances, the most judicious course to adopt ; but when it has been deliberately adopted by conscientious, painstaking men, with the hearty approval of all on the spot, (Who were they ?) the policy of visiting it with condign punishment is a very different question. And if the Government by their decision have acted, as I believe they have acted, in entire opposition to the opinions of the Punjab community, European and native, they have, in my opinion, incurred a very serious responsibility—a grave view of the subject, which cannot, I think, be materially affected by any further information that the Indian Government can send us". That is, in brief terms, Mr. Cowan ought to have been supported in any case. And this is from the much belauded Sir Donald McLeod ! Well, if this were in accordance with Christianity we should have no thought but that the Gospel would soon be cast aside as an effete thing. If this were English statesmanship, and not the pedantry of Cliqueism, in politics and in religion, we should have no hope for such a mongrel statesmanship in the face of the intellect of civilized nations. We do not hesitate to say that if this teaching of the late Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab was carried into practice human life would be as unsafe

as ever it was in the worst periods of history. It simply comes to this, that if a measure—even as extreme as the blowing away of 50 men from guns without trial, and by an officer who had no power of life or death, and who was only a few hours' distant from his superior officer, and who moreover had found a rebellion suppressed before he arrived, and every rebel in safe custody, and had, almost at hand, a strong British force sufficient to sweep the rebels from the face of the earth—is to be condoned on the ground of the conscientiousness of the men who enact it there is no moral law, no principle of political life, that is not violated. Our readers will observe also that while stating positively that he had no knowledge of the grounds upon which the Government had acted Sir Donald McLeod goes on to say that "a grave responsibility has been incurred," and "one which cannot I think be materially affected by any further information that the Government can send us." Without knowing the facts Sir Donald McLeod condemned the Government, and did not see that any information it could give would help the matter. The only inference is that he holds the bad doctrine—we are glad to say disowned by some of the best men in India—that an officer should be supported right or wrong when once he has done a deed the punishment of which might be misconstrued into weakness. We think that we take infinitely higher ground than Sir Donald McLeod when we say that the worst weakness of all in a Statesman, or any man, is to do wrong lest people should suppose that he is afraid. That may be Sir Donald McLeod's principle. It is not England's.

The only other point alleged is one that has been so completely exploded in India that it is hardly ever put forward now—the necessity of promptly suppressing an insurrection. Will the ex-Lieutenant Governor, lately representing the Queen and the Law of England in India, tell us that a rebellion which had been put down—completely suppressed—before the arrival of the British officer on the scene, is to be treated as if it had not been suppressed at all, and the men to be massacred? Is this justice, or high policy? Has it ever admitted to be so in any civilized nation? Nobody has said a word against a prompt suppression of rebellion. Everybody has said "Put down insurrection as quickly as you can, and as sternly." But the difference between the men who have attacked Mr. Cowan

and the men who have supported him, is in the firm stand the latter have made against allowing an officer to act illegally in a case not of extreme peril, and where he not only exceeded his powers, but even his orders. And this is what cannot be altered by any information the Government may receive? If we are to govern India on that principle it will be a Government—we do not say un-Christian, we say in-human. It would not stand. No Government on such a principle ever stood. The laws of God and man are against it. It is opposed to every instinct and aspiration of humanity. It would not stand in savage times; it will not stand in civilized times. We do not say, that Sir McDonald McLeod's Christianity is of the kind that plumes itself selfishly upon the sentiment embodied in—"The Lord my pasture shall prepare, and feed me with a Shepherd's care: His presence all my wants supply," &c.; but we do know that is a very common kind of Christianity, in India and elsewhere, and that some of the men who believe in it are of a class who if the "Lord put forth His hand to touch them, would curse Him to His face". And we cannot help observing that the Kooka executions have been supported to some extent and attacked very slightly and cautiously by the Evangelical part of India. How necessary an out-and-out expression of opinion was is shown by this letter. It appears that there was no brave man of Sir Donald McLeod's friends in India to tell him the fact, which to our certain knowledge was known some months ago. We shall watch curiously the development of this principle; for if it is Christianity, then Christianity is a very different thing from what it was in earlier days. If there is truth in the Gospel of Christ, it is a Gospel for all races and nations from the rising to the setting of the sun. And when Sir Donald McLeod tells us that an English officer should be supported right or wrong we do not say that Sir Donald McLeod is not a Christian, (a man must stand or fall by his light) but we say that what he puts forward is not Christianity nor anything like it, anything at all akin to it, as it ever was understood by any of the great masters of Christian thought and deed since Christianity had a name. The Natives of India have a rare spectacle put before them at the present time, and we hope they will attend to it, and give it a voice that will tell in times to come. We hope they will

make it heard yet as near to Exeter Hall as they can get it, and as near to the Assemblies' Halls at Edinburgh as they can get it—that when the crucial test of England's Christianity came the representatives of Evangelicalism were scarcely heard at all in condemnation of an act legally a murder, politically a crime, or a folly worse than crime, and that when their voices were heard they were often so in support not of Christianity, not of the teachings of equal justice between man and man, but of injustice and assumption of authority so huge that the civilized world will yet revolt against it, pillon as one of the greatest stains on the English name—redeemed indeed by a just, noble and historical decision, but again lowered and degraded by letters such as the one we quote this week from Sir Donald McLeod. We know all about Sir Donald McLeod's character. That is one thing. Facts are another; and we decline to set off any man's character against a letter which without a scruple prejudges the Government he so lately served, and whose salt he eats to this day. What Sir Donald says of Mr. Forsyth's past services we agree with to the letter. A nobler career was never checked by one act. But to do justice to Mr Forsyth Sir Donald McLeod had no right to do injustice to the Government of India.

Let Sir Donald McLeod say what he may, we hold what England's true policy in India is to strike swiftly and sharply—and he who strikes the swiftest and sharpest is the best man—against an enemy in the field, but to give mercy to the vanquished. We hold, moreover, that no worse impression could prevail, in case of an outbreak, than that submission would mean death. Let that impression once prevail, and our difficulties in case of an outbreak would be increased a thousand fold. We should win, we dare say, but it would be at sacrifices that we certainly need not court. We admit that we do not know the Punjab as Sir Donald McLeod knows it, but we know something of history, and we are satisfied that there are certain rules that have prevailed in all nations and times; rules which no man—no conqueror—has ever disregarded with impunity. And these are as to-day in India as they ever were in any nation or time, and moreover are as certainly in favour of our argument as they are opposed to that of Sir Donald McLeod.

it would be bold to do so until the entire facts are more fully revealed. If the orders for this emanated from Lord Mayo before his untimely death, I feel he must have possessed very urgent reasons for this exercise of his authority, for I had constant opportunities of seeing that while he exercised the functions of Chief Secretary for Ireland, especially during the height of the Fenian difficulties, he had the greatest desire to give the utmost discretion to all the officers under Government, and in no way to dissent from the most vigorous orders which were considered requisite.

As regards our Indian possessions the natives of that country are very apt to misconstrue our acts of leniency as due to timidity, whereas there is nothing they so much admire as vigour in the administration of the law. In that country we live upon a mine which may at any moment explode. As a most careful selection of all officers, both Civil and Military, who exercise superior commands in that country is continually made, so the results of their administration are almost universally successful ; but it is most desirable to relieve them as far as possible of the grave responsibilities of their sections in times of danger and difficulties, and to impress upon them a conviction that every allowance will be made by their superiors, and those who are only able to judge events when they have become matters of history, for those who are called upon by the exercise of vigour to repress the first symptoms of that fire which if allowed to be fanned by the breeze of the smallest success, might soon be raging in an unquenchable flame.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

A.T. Cunynghame, Lieut.-General.

Senior United Service Club, May, 15.

In a private letter from a station in the Punjab, the writer says : "Public feeling is strong indeed in favour of Cowan—not that we think he was justified in his action, but because of his treatment by Government whose despatch contains some incorrect statements, and is also a slap in the face for the Punjab Government. Patiala considers himself disgraced, and in Durbar the other day he told his Sirdar that "the Sircar had

blackend his face". Jheend, Nabha and Kupparthala are all disgusted, and if the Government continue to act as they have done the result will be the complete alienation of those hitherto faithful allies. You ditchers may sneer at the idea of their being any danger in this Province, but it is only the men who are actually on the spot, and thoroughly informed of passing events, who can form any correct judgement, and when men like General Taylor, Pollock, Egerton, openly avow their belief that there will be a row up here before long, there must be something in the wind".

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### **The Englishman**

*Saturday, June 8, 1872. Page 3, Col. 7.*

**The Kuka Executions.** (Times, May 6). The telegrams received from our Correspondent in Calcutta have informed the public of the decision adopted by the Indian Government in the case of Mr. Cowan. That gentleman has been "removed from the service," but to that sentence the authorities have added an expression of their great regret "in consideration of his past character." Mr. Forsyth, too, as we learn from another message, "is removed from the Commissionership of Umballa to that of Oude." Brief as these reports necessarily are, we may nevertheless gather from them conclusions substantially covering the entire case; but the incidents themselves are now of so comparatively remote a date, and they have been followed by events so momentous and engrossing, that it may be advisable to put the reader once more in possession of the chief points of the story.

Some months ago, before the murder of Lord Mayo, it was announced that "the Kookas" had risen in arms in the North-Western Provinces of India; that they had attacked, first, a military station, and afterwards a village; but that they were quickly pursued, and ultimately surrounded and captured, to the number of 300, by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, on the spot. The force at the command of Mr. Cowan was very small, but he was promptly and cordially assisted by the Native



Chiefs of the district and the insurgents, in fact, neither attempted much resistance nor had ever enjoyed a chance of success. Acting at once on his own authority, and from his own conception of the emergency, Mr. Cowan ordered forty-nine of these men to instant execution, and was proceeding in this summary fashion, when his hand was stayed. The responsibility then devolved upon Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Province, and he, after some form of trial, executed sixteen more of the prisoners. Such extreme measures necessarily attracted the notice of Government, and Mr. Cowan was at once suspended from office, pending inquiry. We should here observe, perhaps, that about the actual guilt of these prisoners there was no moral doubt. They had forfeited their lives by rising in armed rebellion against the Government, they had caused the deaths of two or three soldiers, and they were taken red-handed. Nothing, indeed, could make the case clearer at this point than the proceedings of Mr. Forsyth at Umballa. He, apparently, took the matter out of the hands of his subordinate, Mr. Cowan, implying thereby, perhaps, something like censure or doubt, and yet after further deliberation he thought himself warranted in sending sixteen more of the prisoners to execution. It was obvious to infer that if at this second sifting so many were held still to merit the last penalty of the law there could have been no practical injustice in the executions first ordered, but then Mr. Forsyth was acting within his legitimate powers, whereas Mr. Cowan had exceeded them. The Deputy Commissioner was not entitled, except under the supreme law of public safety, to order these prisoners to be put to death. It was his duty to refer to the Commissioner, who was within easy reach; instead of which he took the authority and responsibility on himself. The question was, therefore, whether he could establish such a justification for these wholesale executions as a real and overpowering emergency might be allowed to furnish.

In his behalf it was urged that the Insurrection, abortive as it had actually proved, might have been a very serious affair. The Kookas were a sect of Hindoo fanatics numbering many thousands of followers, and this revolt was not the first evidence they had given of their dangerous designs. It was perhaps conceivable that within twelve hours, or less, the whole district might be in a blaze, whereas it was not possible

that within that time any military force could be collected at the spot. At Delhi—some 130 miles distant—there was, indeed, an army powerful enough to have commanded the whole country, and there were other military stations not very far off; but, as a matter of fact, if the case really turned upon time, these forces were all at too great a distance. In the course of a day or two, not doubt, the Government might have been master of the field, but meanwhile the whole Provinces might, on the supposition that this rising was merely the beginning of a general revolt, have been in arms from one end to the other. The defence, then, offered by Mr. Cowan and his friends, consisted in the assertion that this was either the fact or a probability so great as to be naturally mistaken for it. The Deputy Commissioner believed that, unless by an example of summary retribution, he could strike terror into the people, the affair might assume the dimensions of a little war, and so he took these lives to save perhaps a hundred times as many. On the other side, however, it was pointed out that at the moment when these summary and wholesale executions were ordered the Kooka Insurrection had collapsed beyond the possibility of mistake. There remained, it was said, no ground for apprehending that the public safety could be endangered to the point assumed. No popular movements had followed the first outbreak; no disturbances had anywhere occurred; the remnant of the rebel band was in custody, and Mr. Cowan might have communicated with his immediate superior according to rule without fear of putting the State in peril. This might not have saved the lives of the Kookas, who would, perhaps, have been executed by order of the Commissioner instead of the Deputy Commissioner, but it would have brought the whole transaction within the limits of legality, if not of reason. Such is the outline of the case on which it became necessary for the Indian Government to form a decision, and on which its judgment has now been published.

We must infer from the terms of the telegram that not only Mr. Cowan, but Mr. Forsyth also, had formed, in the opinion of the authorities, a most exaggerated estimate of the emergency, and had looked upon the Insurrection of the Kookas as much more dangerous and alarming than it really



was. That the prisoners executed had forfeited their lives is true, but their lives, except for what was thought the exigency of the crisis, would never been taken, and there was not in reality any such crisis to justify the extreme vigour of the proceeding. The Government of India regrets the severity with which it visits Mr. Cowan's wrong doing, but the censure implied by the removal of Mr. Forsyth clearly indicates the impression of the authorities; and, indeed, if the Commissioner did no wrong in executing the sixteen prisoners, the wrong done by the Deputy Commissioner in merely exceeding his powers might have been more lightly visited. But the Indian Government, it is clear, looks upon the whole affair as involving a most grievous and inexcusable error. The Viceroy "sees no evidence whatever" that these executions were necessary, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab not only concurs in that opinion, but states that he "held the same view from the "first." There will be many, no doubt, to share the regret expressed by the authorities at the severity of the judgment they have been compelled to record, but we must take the facts of the case as now fully established. The Kooka Insurrection never called for such extreme and summary measures as it was allowed to provoke. Not only Mr. Cowan, but Mr. Forsyth also, one of the ablest and most experienced officers in the service, fell into a most lamentable and inexcusable error. We can only trust the result will carry its lesson and its warning throughout the Provinces of British India.

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### **The Englishman**

*Dated June 10, 1872.*

**Mr. Cowan's Dismissal.** It was really from ignorance, not policy, that Mr. Grant Duff replied to Mr. Kinnaid's query touching Mr. Cowan's dismissal in so vague a manner. Nothing apparently had been heard at the India Office of the punishment awarded to the probable suppressors of a formidable outbreak, and we believe that many of the councillors were taken as much by surprise as the friends of Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth out of doors. There seems to prevail in many quarters a decided feeling, that even if those officers-

acted on a wrong impression of the circumstances by which they were surrounded, they ought not to have been so heavily punished. Concerning the drift of official opinion at Westminster, it would not be prudent just now to go beyond the expression of a belief that the officers in question have friends there as well as in Parliament; who are ready to do their best for them, as soon as the necessary papers reach this country. It is pretty certain, too, that Mr. Kinnaird will not let the subject drop when the right time comes for taking it up again. Indeed he has just given good earnest of his intentions by forwarding to the Times a copy of an excellent letter written a few days since by an ex-Governor of the Punjab, whose opinion will carry all the more weight because of his well-known leanings to the side of humanity and his strong sympathies with the natives among whom for so many years he lived and laboured. If the Friend of India was taken aback at the concurrence of American missionaries in India with Mr. Cowan's mode of treating rebellion, how will it like to hear that so good a Christian as Sir Donald Macleod has proclaimed his conviction that the sentence passed on Messrs. Cowan and Forsyth is, all things considered, a blunder; if nothing worse. Sir Donald, of course, in the absence of full information, acquits the Indian Government of anything worse. He will not "pretend to judge whether the execution of the Kookas was or as not, under the circumstances, the most judicious course to adopt; but when it has been adopted with the hearty approval of all on the spot, the policy of visiting it with condign punishment is a very different question. Looking at the known character of the two officers, at the inflammable nature of the materials they had to deal with, at the critical position we hold in India, at the known prevalence of popular discontent, at the forward loyalty of the native chiefs in the Punjab, the almost universal feeling of native and Europeans in that province towards Mr. Cowan, and the alarmed surprise which the news of the punishment has caused throughout the service, we cannot but think that the Indian Government "have incurred a very serious responsibility"; and this grave view of the subject will not, we are of opinion, be much affected by the further information for which all are waiting. Sir Donald takes care to touch by the way on the broad difference

between Mr. Cowan's position in India, and that of Mr. Eyre in Jamaica, remarking with obvious, but often overlooked truth, that what may "very well be necessary for our safety in India," would be "unreasonably severe in a place where the same dangers cannot threaten us", and where we can safely apply the principles on which Englishmen are governed at home.

Sir Donald, of course, does not forget to dwell on the discouragement this judgment will inflict, not only on English officers, but on zealous native feudatories. What the Rajah of Patiala thinks of it may be seen from some passages of a private letter which Sir D. Macleod has appended to his own.

The Rajah thought Mr. Cowan's suspension "a political blunder" which we may yet have to rue. What will he say to Mr. Cowan's dismissal? We have no more faithful allies than the Rajah of Patiala, and other of the Sirhind chiefs, and any policy which is likely to discourage or disgust them, will at the least be a stupid mistake. We can but hope that the Rajah's forebodings may long remain unfulfilled, and that the measures taken by Mr. Cowan will not have been rendered altogether fruits by his subsequent disgrace.

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## **The Late Trials of the Kukas**

*14th June, 1872*

The Indian public opinion of the 4th inst. informs us that on the 31st ultimo three of the leaders of the Kuka Sect at Lahore were arraigned before the Magistrate of that district, and punished with imprisonment and fine for having been present at an Assembly of more than five persons in defiance of an order of Government declaring that no more than five Kukas should assemble in one place.

This trial will take the public by surprise. In the now famous Kuka despatch, the Government of India declared in the most solemn and emphatic language, that the rising at Malehr Kotla was the work of a few fanatics only, and that

there was no evidence whatever to show that other members of the Sect intended to join them, and now five months after the effectual suppression of the escapade of a few fanatics, we learnt that the whole of the Kuka Sect still remains, by order of Government, under the most rigid surveillance, that no more than five persons are allowed to assemble at one place, and that a heavy punishment is vested on those who disobey this order. If the words of the Viceroy and Governor General contained in the Kuka dispatch are to be believed, then these Lahore Kukas have been most unjustly punished and should be released forthwith. But perhaps it is a fact that the sect is a dangerous one and was ready for a general rising, and that the Indian Government knew this when they penned their despatch. If this is the case, we think it not improbable that the public will, in future, place its own construction on the assertions of Viceroys and Governor General, and characterise that with the help of facts. Why does not our contemporary inform us of the reports regarding the Raipore Kukas, and where does he tell us that an application from Ram Singh to a court of law "will not be permitted". In this last sentence insipid; Do we not all know that Courts of law are the "instruments" by which the British Government preserves order, or in a general kind of way does justice? Yes, we know this, but if Ram Singh, whom we have deported to Rangoon, without the intervention of the aforesaid instruments, venture to apply to them for aid, we will show you how we can stretch our broad Principles.

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### **The Englishman**

*Dated 3rd June 1872*

MR. COWAN'S ACCOUNT OF THE KUKA OUT-BREAK:—We are informed that Mr. Cowan is preparing for publication a complete account of late Kuka outbreaks at Amritsar, Raikut, Maloudh and Malair Kotla. This book will contain the official reports submitted to the Punjab Govt. by its Chief Civil and Police Officer, for many years previous to the disturbances. The correspondence with the native

Chieftains and others on the causes of the risings and aims of the Kuka Sect and precautions taken by government for many months after the out-break, all of which matters have been excluded from the "Kuka Despatch". The evidence adduced will clearly show the necessity for the severest measures of repression. On completion Mr. Cowan, we hear, will proceed to England, and lay his case before Parliament. Several members of the lower house have already offered him assistance.

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*13th June, 1872.*

We see that the Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Patiala has written to the Editor of the "Indian Public Opinion", contradicting the statement which appeared a short time ago in that paper, that His Highness had declared to his Sardars in Darbar that he considered himself dishonoured by the Government decision on the Kuka excutions. "His Highness", say that the Prime Minister "has no concern with the decision of Government on the Malair Kotla executions".

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*22nd June, 1872*

It is very rarely that we venture to intrude on private sorrow, or to offer the poor consolation of our sympathy to one over whose household death has cast its gloomy shadow. "The heart knoweth his bitterness", and most men have found out from their own sad experience of dark hours, how idle are worlds of would-be comfort in day of affliction. But we publish this morning an obituary notice, very simple but inexpressibly sad, which will be read with sorrow by hundreds of men and women in India and without which no history of the late Kuka Rising will be complete. The few simple words are more eloquent, and pathetic by far, than any we could write and must suggest to every man of feeling a crowd of most painful and serious thoughts.

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**The Hindu Patriot***September 2, 1872*

**The Cowan Case.** At last the curtain has dropped over the Cowan Case. The last scene has been played out by the Secretary of State. His Grace, acknowledging the despatch of the Govt. of India on the Kuka executions, says : In that despatch Lord Napier in Council stated that after full consideration of all the circumstances connected with the outbreak and its suppression, he had felt it his duty to dismiss Mr. Cowan from the service of Government of India, and to remove Mr. Forsyth to another appointment in Oudh. I have to express to you my concurrence in the principles laid down by the Government of India as applicable to this most painful case, and my entire approval of dismissal of Mr. Cowan from the public service, and likewise of the orders which you have issued in respect to Mr. Forsyth." So far so good. But may we ask whether the Secretary of State has shewn a sufficient appreciation of gravity of the subject, by dismissing it with a dozen lines? Never since the great Clemency Despatch of Lord Canning a more important document has been issued by the Govt. of India, enunciating the principles on which the political administration of the country is to be carried on, but the Secretary of State gives a cold adhesion to it by simply stating that he expresses his "concurrence in the principles laid down. He does not even use an adjective to denote the warmth of his adherence. In many a trivial matter he does not hesitate to say, "I express my hearty concurrence", or "I express my entire concurrence". Of course the object of the public who were really anxious about the issue of this case, and who were not without fear that personal considerations might imperil the great principle at stake, is attained when he says that he expresses his concurrence in the principles laid down by the government of India." These principles were so just and righteous that no civilized Government which had the slightest respect for public opinion, could ignore them. But it would have been becoming the position of the Secretary of State as the highest Indian authority, if he had been more liberal in the use of words in expressing his "concurrence" in the Despatch on the Government of India on the subject. We could believe that the Secretary of State

had little to add to what the Governor General in Council had so ably and so eloquently enunciated, but a more hearty expression of opinion from him would have been more gratifying to the people of India. They look up to the Secretary of State as the fountain of authority and anything which falls from him necessarily carried great weight.

**One Word more.** The Secretary of State says, "in consideration of his previous service I approve of the grant to Mr. Cowan of a pension of Rs. 300/- per mensem as proposed in the Financial Despatch of Lord Napier in Council, dated 3rd May No. 151A, of 1872." The recommendation for pension to Mr. Cowan, we observe, originated with the Govt. of India. We have no desire to run down a fallen man, and remembering that Mr. Cowan had rendered approved services to the State we would be sorry to stand in the way of a provision for his old age. The offence of which he has been convicted is not however an ordinary offence. It should be borne in mind that in every step of his proceedings he disregarded law, form and principle. Nothing could be more strong than the condemnation passed upon him by the Government of India. We once more quote it for ready references :—

"In the first place His Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Reference to the principles already stated there is no circumstance which stands to justify or even greatly to excuse Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded. They had surrendered to very inferior numbers, and were under the guard of a considerable Military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances, their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse. His Excellency in Council cannot regard as an excuse Mr. Cowan's belief that the situation was politically expedient. In fact that is set aside the existing law, because he thought it expedient to do so in the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which His



Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed.

“While the Governor-General-in-Council recognises that the lives of all the criminals involved in the recent outbreak in the Punjab were in principle forfeited to the law, His Excellency is under the painful necessity of confirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which gave it a complexion of barbarity. That course was commenced in opposition to the spirit of instructions received from Superior Authority, and, in the absence of sanction invoked but not awaited; it was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.”

And is not the grossest violence offered to justice itself, when such conduct is condoned? And is not the grant of pension to Mr. Cowan tantamount to a partial condonation of it? Say what the Government of India or the Secretary of State may, the impression on the minds of the people of India cannot be shaken that the consideration shown to Mr. Cowan has been in strict consonance with the noble principle which have been enunciated in the Resolution on the Kuka Executions or with its published condemnation of his conduct. For much less grave offences public officers, particularly when they have not the good fortune to be backed by influential friends, have forfeited position, pay, and pension. We say this not without pain, for we have not the remotest wish to bear harshly upon anybody, but at the same time we cannot consent to sacrifice the interests of justice to sentimental sympathy. When the impartial eye of History will survey this part of the decision of the Government of India on the painful subject of Kuka executions, we feel convinced that she will not accord her approval to it.”

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**Amrita Bazar Patrika***31st October, 1872.*

**Mr. James Routledge :** The Native Journals are quarrelling amongst themselves to take the credit, for credit it is, to be able to appreciate goodness, of having first proposed an address to the Editor of the "Friend of India." James Routledge never advocated the cause of the natives, but he advocated the cause of truth and justice, and the natives never wanted more from their Anglo-Indian masters. The question stands thus. The Editor of the "Friend" advocated the cause of truth and justice, and the natives found it so unusual that it filled them with admiration and gratitude. And our calumniators say that natives cannot appreciate goodness! James Routledge has done a service both to the Government and the people. We are an admirer of the policy of the English Government. It is always wise and evil counter-acting. The successive acts of some selfish and power-loving despots spread discontent throughout the length and breadth of the country, and England sends out a good Governor to neutralize their evil effects.

Thus, the advent of Lord Cornwallis saved Bengal from total ruin, and thus, when showers of taxation and legislation deluged the country and created a strong feeling of distrust amongst the people, the Government of our land was placed in the hands of our Governor-General. Where Government fails, Providence comes to its aid and sends out good and earnest workers to soothe the people and heal their wounds. James Routledge was one of them and his mission was to soothe, to heal and to comfort with hopes. His straight forwardness and indomitable perseverance, his universal sympathies, large-hearted christianity, and love of truth and justice, shall ever win the admiration and esteem even of his bitterest enemies. His bold and heroic stand against the Kuka execution, the single-handed battle that he fought in the cause of humanity, the abuse and calumny that were heaped upon him week after week by his countrymen, and the utter contempt with which he treated them, have secured to him gratitude of the whole nation. His appreciation of excellencies in Hinduism in spite

of his being a staunch christian, his support of the innocent mela of Juggernaut, and the undaunted manner in which he repelled the ungenerous and illiberal attacks of his begottd brethren, his noble desire to see the bright side of the native character, will always fill the Hindoo hearts with tender feelings towards him.

If half of our Anglo-Indian contemporaries were like him, India would have been better governed and race antagonism nowhere.

It is indeed a national misfortune that such a man should leave us and that so soon. Good and able men are rare, especially in ill-fated India. A few weeks more and our friend leaves us. We earnestly hope that our countrymen will lose no time in acknowledging to him the deep sense of gratitude they feel for him. The people of Calcutta propose to make arrangements to see him personally at Ooterpara, but the District Associations should send their addresses at once by post.

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### **mrta Bazar Patrika**

*7th November, 1872*

### **John Bull's Letter to the Editor of the Amrita Bazar Patrika**

Dear Sir,—You unjustly accuse me of my partiality for Mahammadans. I do love Mussalmans, but I do not therefore deserve your censure. Do you wish me to be ungrateful, or if you are no sentimentalist, do you wish me to be foolish and to forget my own interests? Can I move a step without them? What can I do without my bearded friends? Who cooks my food and spreads the dishes on my table.. Who but my dear Khater? His wife Manoo Bibee suckles and nurses my babes, and would you wish me to be ungrateful to such useful men to the Anglo-Indian society? The services of Khater do not end here; if he cooks my food, his cousin Jameer drives my carriage. If after all this I help Khater's nephew with a Deputyship and all his friends to enter the Civil Service classes of Hooghly on smaller fees, wherein

I do wrong? His step brother tends my beloved horses, and if the roof of my room leaks, I wont go to Babu Ghose or Babu Chatterjee but again to my dear Khater and his uncle Ali. Vekoo prepares my coats and shirts, and Moozdeen his neighbour waits upon me. I am thankful that my bearded friends ever left the glens of Afganistan and the tablelands of Mongolia; for what we have done without them? Now then look to your own countrymen. Of what earthly service is your Bengalee Babu to us? He will not condescend, poor fellow, to brush my coat or wash my plates. He is too proud, he gives himself airs, talks big, and complains of the imaginary grievances. Mind my Khater never complains, he is too grateful to do that. My Baboo comes before me with a nod, and wants to shake hands with me, as if he were a white man. But look here, Khater is a master of the art of salaaming. His salaams are graceful, beautiful and sublime! Like mesmeric passes, they impart a thrill of pleasure in my system. Come, be honest; what are the Hindoos good for? They copy my drafts, well so far I am obliged to them, and I pay them for their work and call them Baboos but even there, the Mohammadans excel your Hindoos. His penmanship is even superior to his salaams. The Hindoos want posts, the Mohammedans never. The Hindoos are proud that it was they who made over to us the destiny of Bengal and therefore of India and they audiciously set claims on our kindness.

Well, these are old matters, and it is very unfair and mean on the part of your friends to rake up old matters. To sum up, I would just call your attention to a very simple fact; for fact it is; mind that. We can do very well without your Hindoos, we do not want them, let them only pay their taxes and remain as much aloof from us as possible. Let them not come to us, they may send their taxes by post and it will do as well. But if my Khater and his friends were to leave us what would become of us? My children will cry, my horses starve, my lady will burn her fingers in the kitchen, and we will have to lead a most pitiful life.

Yours faithfully,

JOHN BULL

**Amrita Bazar Patrika***28th November, 1872.*

**The Routledge Meeting :** Never was a private individual so honoured before in Bengal ; certainly no journalist. We are glad that we could thus pay our debt of gratitude what we owed to Mr. Routledge. There were upwards of 300 men present, noblemen, zemindars, millionaires, professional men, independent gentlemen and men of various nationalities and creed. There was only one white man present. We say white not in any spirit of fun, for he was not an Englishman, nor a European but an American, by name C.H.F. Dall. Why were no Anglo-Indians present ? Babu Joy Kissen took the chair and Babu Digamber read the address. The reply of Mr. Routledge contained many fine passages. Regarding the Kooka massacre he said :—

When we first heard of Kooka Executions I disbelieved the account. When I understood the terrible story I denounced the act, without one misgiving, as an ordinary duty of journalism ; and let me say, (for there has been some misunderstanding here) that from first to last of that somewhat warm discussion the proprietors of the "Friend of India" fairly left me without even a word of opinion for or against my view. I remained, as I had come, as I shall leave, an independent editor ; and I am glad to tell you that the journal did not suffer ; did not stand lower in the opinion of its friends after than it did before the Kooka controversy had arrayed against its so many opponents. I am referring now to its European as well as its Native friends. You do not know—how generous was the feeling of many Englishmen in India when once they understood what had been done at Kotla. It is right that you should know this, as a matter of fact, which may have some little use in times to come. I have been told that I used strong language. I confess I did so ; and if the occasion arose tomorrow I should use like language again, and would scorn as heartily as I did then the attacks made upon me. I was not conscious of anything unusual in this course. It gave me no pleasure, but great pain, to denounce British officers acting in a district where a spark might at any moment cause a

conflagration dreadful to us all. But once a journalist understood those executions, and saw them with a belief in God's justice and the sacredness of human life, poor and despised though that life might be, one of two things I think remained to him ; he must have condemned the executions or have left India. The latter was not my duty as I read it ; the former was, I believe, that the Queen's rule in India is stronger because of that noble Kooka Minute. I am convinced that the Minute has led you to think better of our English sense of justice and humanity, and that it will help to bind England and India together in a common feeling and interest when the paltry feelings which now very frequently divide us, and which are fostered by foolish men to the estrangement and consequent injury of both races are trampled under foot for ever more.

Mr. Routledge was of opinion that the "Friend" in the old times and recently before his time had proved itself a true friend of India. In this opinion, the gentlemen present perhaps did not quite agree. Indeed had that been the case he could have never moved the nation so powerfully. Mr. Marshman is a changed man, and had his love for India been as ardent before as it is now the "Friend" would have been more popular during his time. The following passage will repay perusal :—

I have found too, that when you challenge the views of some Englishmen a foolish cry of disloyalty is raised against you. You are not disloyal. You comprehend as well as any Englishmen of us all, the blessing of the Queen's rule, but you are not on that account called upon to believe in, and bow to, every man who is called a servant of the Queen. The first condition of respect in the future will be that the man who claims respect for his position shall have respect for yours. There is another point on which I think no one of ordinary intelligence can well misread your character as a people. You are capable of great kindness, and in some cases of unbounded charity. Your case I, of course, believe will fall. But one thing I have learned of it ; your hero-worship is not the worship of the money-bag. The lowliest Brahmin and scholar is with you a Prince by right Divine. The wealthiest among you will stand back to give precedence to the poorest who

wears by right the sacred thread. That is something in a nation's history. You are as eager for money as other people, I dare say ; but while you can bow to a mendicant because he wears a bit of sacred thread I shall not believe that there is not something in common in your feeling and in that which makes the proudest Englishman in England prouder still to wear a bit of blue ribbon conferred by his sovereign. I believe too you have sacrifice, and where there is sacrifice there can when the occasion calls for it be heroism. I have a good friend present whom I have been persuading for twelve months at least not to become a devotee, and I believe he is at this moment flattering himself that he has persuaded me to become one. "Just try it," he said to me the other day, "this is a positive fact", "there is more comfort in contemplation in a lonely cave than in all that wealth can bestow". I shall hear of him, go where I may, but I sincerely hope that I shall not hear of him sitting on those dismal steps at Benares. You have had great sacrifice too, as a people, ages of endurance, terrible to think of, have been the lot of India. The seclusion that you are so much censured for (and which I hope I will soon or latter pass away) has been one of your best defences against lawless wrong. And after all those ages, you are here today, with opportunities of a very rare kind, for learning, for thought, and eventually I hope, for a great history. Your young men are masters of a world wide literature. You are producing lawyers, doctors, astronomers, able writers, ardent religious teachers.

After the conclusion of Mr. Routledge's speech addresses from Rajshye, Jessore, Krishnagore, Burdwan, Berhampore and Ranaghat were presented to him and the meeting broke up at 4-30 P.M. The address from Jeyrampore Ryots Association reached Mr. Routledge sometime ago and the reply which he gave to it is before us.

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**The Hindu Patriot***Dated 25th November, 1872.*

**The Meeting To Address Mr. Routledge.** The Meeting of Ooterparah on Saturday last to address Mr. Routledge was a decided success. There were present representatives of all classes of the Native Community, Hindus, Mohomedans, Brahmans, and Native Christians. A large party came from Calcutta comprising the leaders of the different sections of the community. The neighbouring towns of Howrah, Serampore Hoogly, &c. were also fairly represented. About three hundred gentlemen were present, among whom we noticed the Hon'ble Raja Joteendra Mohun Tagore, Hon'ble Babu Degumber Mitter, Babu Joykissen Mookerjea, Kumar Grish Chunder Singh, Babu Heralal Seal, Doorga Churn Law, Chunder Mohan Chatterjee, Rajendralala Mittra, Kisser Chand Mitter, Dajendranath Tagore, Shive Chunder Dey, Obhoy Charan Nandi, Upendranarain Nandy, Biprodas Dey Koonjolal Banerjee, Rajendra Dutt, Bijoy Kissen Mookerjea, Hurryhur Mukherjee, Jago Bandhu Mookerjee, Dr. Mahendralal Sircar, Mir Mohamand Ali-Moulvi, Kabiruddin Ahmed, Rev : Lal Behari Dey, Rev. C.H.A, Dall, &c.

On arrival Mr. Routledge was received by Babu Joy Kissen Mukerjee and conducted to a room where luncheon had been provided for him by the Zomindar of Ooterpara. The luncheon over, Mr. Routledge was conducted to the Hall of the Library. As soon as the gentlemen assembled took their seats, Babu Kishori Charan Mitter proposed that Babu Joy Kissen Mukherjee take the Chair. The Chairman with a few suitable words introduced Mr. Routledge to the Meeting. He then requested Hon'ble Digamber Mitter to read the address which was as follows : signed by two thousand and twenty six gentlemen :—

To

James Routledge Esqr.,

Sir,

We the undersigned Native inhabitants of Calcutta and of the Metropolitan Districts of Bengal, desire to avail ourselves of



the occasion of your departure for Europe to express our obligations to you for the services you have rendered in the elucidation of important questions affecting the interests of the people of this country in the conduct of the "FRIEND OF INDIA" NEWSPAPER.

It has been truly said that every Englishman in India is a representative man, that he represents the civilization, freedom, and religion of his country, but how greatly is his responsibility enhanced when he takes upon himself the duty of teaching the public mind, counselling the Rulers in matters of the gravest import to the ruled, and directing the thoughts, feelings, and aspirations of the millions of foreign country through right channels. In the discharge of this duty no Englishman can hope to be successful who does not unite to his love of truth, justice, and humanity a generous sympathy with the people, a sympathy arising from a just appreciation of their history, their traditions, their institutions, their feelings, and even their failings.

In you we have seen what a powerful ally is an Englishman, possessing these essential qualities of a public instructor, to the cause of good Government and National improvement in India ; you have allowed no considerations of race, country, or creed to bias your judgement, the part you have taken in rousing public opinion in condemnation of the Kuka Massacres reflects as much credit on you as on the great nation of which you have been the spokesman ; and you have generally by your journalistic career in this country set an example which we feel convinced cannot but exercise a most salutary effect upon all, who aspire to guide the public mind, and to influence the thoughts and sympathies of the various races and nationalities of India. Indeed never did the "Friend of India" more truly realise that name than under your guidance and control.

Although your direct connection with India will now cease, we venture to hope that the lively interest, which you have hitherto taken in its material and moral well being, will continue unabated. And that whenever opportunities will offer, you will be able to render good service to our country by assisting the English Public in arriving at a just estimate of



Indian questions affecting the welfare of its people. Wishing you a safe voyage home and a prosperous career in life.

23rd November, 1872.

We remain, &c.

Signatures of Two thousand men.

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## DOCUMENT 41

### Home Department (*Confidential*)

*Cir. No. 9—285*

*Dated 24th January 1873.*

*From*

Offg : Secretary to Government Punjab.

*To*

All Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and  
Inspectors General of Police.

Confidential memo no. 11 dated 23rd January 1872, in the Police Department, prohibited the assemblage of five or more Kukas. The Lieutenant Governor does not consider that the time has come for a cancelment of this order, but he is of opinion that it may with safety be relaxed, and the Inspector General of Police is requested to issue orders that the police ordinarily take no notice of breaches of the rule ; but that, at the same time, they observe the utmost vigilance with regard to the movement of the sect.

2. Should the police have reason to believe that a meeting of Kukas is about to be held for sedition purposes, the police officer should at once communicate with the Deputy Commissioner who will use his discretion as to prohibiting the assemblage or dispersing it, if assembled ; and the persons intending to take part, or who had taken part in such assemblage, should be warned that the rule is still in force.

Report to be made  
of any seditious  
meeting.

**DOCUMENT 42****KUKAS**

Memo No. 12.

*Dated Lahore, 18 February, 1873**To*

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

In modification of the orders contained in memo no. 11 of 23rd January 1872, forwards copy of a Circular by Government, Punjab (no. 9 of 24th ultimo), stating that, while the orders of 11th January 1872 need not be strictly enforced, the police are still to observe vigilantly the movement of the Kuka sect.

The order prohibiting an assembly of five persons relaxed but not cancelled.

2. Requests he will send a copy of the enclosed Government Circular to each of his District Superintendents with the necessary instructions.

A copy of Govt Circular to be sent to each Dis. Sup. of Police.

**DOCUMENT 43****Suobahs of the Kuka leader Ram Singh***No. 10**Dated India Office, London, the 20th February, 1873**From*

Her Majesty's

Secretary of State of India

*To*

The Government of India.

The dispatch of Your Excellency in Council, dated 27th December, No. 60 of 1872, relative to the course to be pursued

in regard to the Soubahs of the Kuka leader Ram Singh, has been considered by me in Council.

2. Your Excellency in Council has determined, in concurrence with the view of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, not to bring the Kuka Soubahs to trial on specific charges, but to detain them in confinement as political prisoners. Orders have accordingly been issued for their distribution between Chunar, Asseerghur, Moulmein, and Aden.

3. I fully approve of these proceedings and of the orders you have issued to the Government of Bombay, to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, and to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

No orders

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**(DOCUMENT 44)**

**Transfer of the Property of Gooroo Ram Singh to  
Gooroo Budh Singh**

**(alias Gooroo HARI SINGH—Compiler)**

Unfortunately some papers are missing. It is probable that the missing papers may be found in the National Archives of India (New Delhi, Compiler).

H.E. recently desired me to write D.O. to Mr. Eden and enquire *about the transfer of the property of Ram Singh to Budh Singh who is said to have taken his place as head of the Kukas.*

It appears from Mr. Eden's reply that the transfer has been arranged with the sanction of Secretary in the Home Department.

No orders I presume are now needed. But would it not be as well that the Home Deptt. should communicate

with Foreign Deptt. on matters relating to the Kukas. *The question is as much political as administrative.*

Sd/-Bayley  
27/9

Mr. Bayley—

Any paper regarding Kukas should I think be communicated with Foreign Deptt. for information.

Sd. N.  
(Governor General)  
9/10.

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**(DOCUMENT 44 A)**

Office of

Superintendent Central Prison—Rangoon

*No. 1236 P*

*Dated the 27th November, 1872*

*From*

T.H. Dobson, Esquire,  
Superintendent Central Prison,  
Rangoon.

*To*

The Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burma,  
Rangoon.

Sir,

With reference to your No. 1093 dated 12th Instant, forwarding copy of correspondence respecting property belonging to the Kuka Chief to whom I have verbally explained its

contents, I have the honor to inform you that Ram Singh wishes that the houses, lands, cattle, camels, horses etc. together with all cash and Jewels belonging to him may be made over to his brother Budh Singh.

I have, &co.,  
(Sd) T.H. Dobson.  
Superintendent.

---

**(DOCUMENT 45 B)**

Office of the Inspector General  
of Prisons, British Burma—Rangoon.

*No. 1188*

*Dated 28th November, 1872.*

Copy forwarded for information to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner British Burma, with reference to his No. 531/53 Political Department dated 9th November 187.

By his Most obedient servant,  
(Sd) W.P. Kelly  
Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burma.

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**(DOCUMENT 44 C)**

J. Talboys Wheeler, Esquire,  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

*To*

H.L. Dampier Esquire,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department

*Dated Rangoon, 11th January 1873.*

Sir,

I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to acknowledge the receipt of your endorsement No. 1932 dated 17th October,

1872 forwarding a copy of correspondence respecting the property belonging to Ram Singh the Kuka Chief.

2. In reply I have the honor to forward a copy of a communication from the Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma, No. 1188 dated 28th November 1872 from with it will be observed that Ram Singh wishes the whole of the property to be made over to his brother Budh Singh.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Sd/-.....

---

**(DOCUMENT 44 D)**

Remarks by the Governor General on the file.

Mr. Hobhouse

I should be glad if you would look up this and see how it can legally be done.

N. 27/1

(Governor General)

Microfilm copy with me blurred.

Remaining illegible—

Further reference to the original file in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.

Compiler : Nahar Singh

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**(DOCUMENT 44 E)**

*No. 284*

*Dated Fort William, the 17th Feb., 1873.*

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of the Punjab

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 287 S, dated the 18th September Last I am directed to forward the accompanying communication from the Chief Commissioner British Burma, and to enquire whether in the opinion of the Hon'able the Lieutenant Governor there is any objection to the transfer of Ram Singh's property to his brother as requested by him.

2. His Honor is aware that sections 9, 10 and 11 of Regulation III of 1818 bear on the question of the powers of the Governor General in Council in respect to property without any previous decision of a Court of Justice or other Judicial proceedings."

I have &c.

Sd./-

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**(DOCUMENT 44 F)**

*From*

Lepel Griffin, Esquire,  
Offg. Secretary to Government Punjab.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esquire,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department,  
Calcutta.

*No. 636*

*Dated Lahore, 19th February, 1873.*

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 284, dated the 10th February, I am desired to state that the Honable the Lieutenant-

Governor has no objection to offer to the transfer of the property of the Kuka Chief Ram Singh to his brother.

I have the honour to be  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient servant,  
 Sd/-...  
 for Offg. Secretary to  
 Government Punjab.

---

**(DOCUMENT 44 G)**

SEAL

Punjab No. 635, d/14 July.

Transfer of Ram Singh's (The Kuka leader) property to his brother Budh Singh

The Punjab Government has no objection to the transfer, which Ram Singh is desirous of effecting if, therefore, it be allowed what remaining to be done is to take care that some simple though sufficient formal conveyance deed be extended to Ram Singh.

Sd/-...  
 25/2

We may write accordingly.

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**(DOCUMENT 44 H)**

Confidential.

*Dated Fort William, the 17th March, 1873.*

To

The Chief Commissioner  
 of British Burmah.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter No. 20/11 Pd /11 June, last and in reply to say that the



Governor General in Council has no objection to allow Ram Singh to transfer his property to his brother Budh Singh but it is necessary that he should execute such a conveyance deed or instrument of gift as will be sufficient to show hereafter that his giving up any thing to his brother the Government were duly acting upon Ram Singh's directions. The conveyance deed may be of as simple a character as will suffice to secure this end.

Sd./-...

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**(DOCUMENT 44 I)**

*From*

Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,  
British Burma.

*Dated 25th June, 1873.*

*Received 16 July.*

No. 320/11P.

Enclosure *Two*.

Spare copies.....

D. No. 38,

Pre. June/74.

L. B. 37.

No. 246.

Acknowledges the receipt of letter No. 214 d/ 7th March 1873, regarding the transfer of Ram Singh's property to his brother and forwards a copy of letter from the Government Advocate Rangoon together with the deed of conveyance and suggests that a plan with a clear description of the property should be prepared and attached to the deed which might be returned to Rangoon for Ram Singh's signature and for Registration.

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**(DOCUMENT 44 J)**

Home Department.  
Confidential.

*Dated Simla 24th July 1873.*

*To*

The Secretary to the Government  
of the Punjab.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 636, dated the 18th February last, I am directed to forward the accompanying communication from the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and to request that as therein suggested the Hon'able the Lieutenant-Governor may be moved to cause a plan with a description of Ram Singh's landed property to be prepared and transmitted to this office.

Sd/—  
23/7

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**(DOCUMENT 44 K)**

*From*

Lewis McIver, Esquire,  
Officiating Assistant Secretary to the  
Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated Rangoon, 16th May, 1874.*

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with this office letter No. 320-11 P, dated the 25th June 1873, relative to

the transfer of the property of the Kuka Chief, Ram Singh to his brother Budh Singh, I am directed to say that a sum of Rs. 16/- was drawn on the 3rd June 1873, from the Local Treasury for stamping the deed of conveyance, and that this amount is still out standing in the books of the Deputy Accountant General of this province.

The Chief Commissioner would request therefore, the orders of the Government of India as to the manner in which the amount should be adjusted.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./-...

Offg. Assistant Secretary.

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**(DOCUMENT 44 L)**

No 3700

*To*

The Chief Commissioner,  
Birtish Burma.

**FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT**

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 211/14 P. dated the 16th May 1874, enquiring how the advance of Rs. 16 is to be adjusted which was made for a stamp paper required for a deed of conveyance to enable the Kuka Chief Ram Singh to transfer his property to his brother.

2. In reply I am directed to state that the value of the stamp should be borne by Ram Singh or his brother, and it should therefore be deduced from the cash to be so transfered.

If this from any reason cannot be done, and Government should bear the charge.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,

Fort William,  
*The 17th June 1874.*

Sd./-...  
Assistant Secy. to the  
Government of India.

Copy forwarded to the Home Department and to the Deputy Accountant General, British Burma for information.

By order &c.,  
Sd./-...  
Asstt. Secy. to Government of India.

**(DOCUMENT 44 M)**

Regr. No. 6323

The cost of the stamp should be borne by Ram Singh or his brother, and the amount might therefore be deducted from the cash to be transferred.

If this cannot from any reason be done Government may bear the charge.

Sd./-... D.P.O.  
2/6

Sd./-...  
June 3rd.

True copy,  
Sd./-...

Registrar Judicial Deptt.

Sd/-... 16/6.

Rangoon.

**(DOCUMENT 45)**

Adjustment of the charges incidental to the detention in British Burma of the Kuka Chief, Ram Singh.

*No. 532—53 P*

*Dated Rangoon, the 9th November, 1872.*

*From*

J-T-Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

*To*

H.L. Dampier, Esq.,  
Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.

With reference to paragraph 2 of your letter No. 1045, dated the 12th of June last, respecting the adjustment of the charges consequent on the detention of Ram Singh in this province, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying statements showing (1) the estimated monthly charges, (2) cost of repairs to the building in which located, and (3) an abstract of the total expenditure incurred from 16th March to 31st October 1872.

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**(DOCUMENT 45 A)**

*No. 750*

*Dated Rangoon, the 19th August, 1872.*

*From*

W.P. Kelly, Esq.,  
Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma.

*To*

J.T. Wheeler, Esq.,  
Secy., to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

With reference to your letter No. 364-53 dated 19th ultimo, I have the honor to state that the average cost of Ram Singh

and his servant's maintenace has been up to the present Rupees 98-12-0 monthly, this sum include furniture, exclusive of which it has been rupees 76-0-3 per mensem.

2. Three Hindoo prisoners and one sweeper (also a prisoner) will be detailed from the jail to attend on Ram Singh when he is removed to the building now being got ready for him. The jail should be credited with the value of these prisoner's labour at the rate of Rupees 5 a month per prisoner. A conservancy gang of six prisoners will be employed once ; a week, in like manner the Jail Department should be credited with the value of their labour at the rate of 4 annas a day each for 52 days in the year. The total monthly cost will thus be Rupees 102-8-3, as long as Ram Singh remains in confinement in that Province. I am, therefore to request that you will state at what sum the allotment for 1873-74, and subsequent years should be fixed, and also to specify the sums which should be assigned to cover the expenses of 1871-72 and 1872-73, respectively.

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**(DOCUMENT 45 B)**

*No. 2269*

*Dated Fort William the 21st December, 1872.*

*From*

H. Wellesly, Esq.,  
Offg. Under Secy. to Government of India.

*To*

The Hon'able A. Eden,  
Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter No. 532-53, P. dated the 9th ultimo, regarding the adjustment of the charges incidental to the detention in British Burma of the Kuka Chief, Ram Singh.

2. In paragraph 1 of his letter dated 12th August, Dr. Kelly states that the average cost of Ram Singh and his

servants maintenance has been, up to date, Rs. 98-12 monthly. In this calculation such items as the cost of a milch-cow (Rs. 93, and of furniture Rs. 104-8) are probably included, and if so, the monthly sum named must be in excess of that which will be required to meet the expenses under those heads in future.

3. As exceptional expenses of setting up have been incurred, it is proposed to make an exceptional grant for the expenses incurred in 1871-72, and 1872-73, and to make a fixed annual assignment to the provincial funds of British Burma for 1873-74, and following years.

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**(DOCUMENT 45 C)**

(Seal)

Home Department  
India

*Dec. 9th,*

My dear Barbour,

Your resolution dated 14th May, 1872, No. 3458. Do you intend that cost of Ram Singh's confinement to be added to British Burmah Provincial funds at the time, the Budget estimate is proposed, or do you intend the actual cost to be added by adjustment at the end of each year.

Yours truly,

Sd./-...H. Wellesley.

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**(DOCUMENT 45 D)**

My dear Wellesley,

The amount when once sanctioned will be added to the Provincial Service Grant for each year. There will not be an adjustment at end of each year.

Yours sincerely,

Sd./-...D. Barbour.  
10-12.

**(DOCUMENT 45 E)**

Remarks on the file in G.G.'s. Office  
Expenses incurred on Ram Singh

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From Chief Commissioner of British Burma

*Dated 9th November, 1872.*

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From Mr. Barbour's demi-official to me, dated 10th December, it will be seen that the Financial Department contemplates making a permanent allotment to British Burma provincial funds on account of Ram Singh's confinement.

On this assumption I have added another paragraph to our draft letter. But I think it would be a better plan if the actual expenses were paid by adjustment from imperial funds at the end of each year.

H.W., 10-12-72.

Is the information which the Chief Commissioner has supplied sufficient for the purposes of the Financial Department, or shall we issue the proposed draft ?

H.L.D., 12-12-72.

I think this draft will do. We do not want details.

R.B.C., 13-12-72.

Let the draft issue.

E.C.B., 17-12-72.

---



**(DOCUMENT 45 F)**

*No. 209*

*Dated Rangoon, the 14th Feb., 1872.*

*From*

**W.P. Kelly, Esq., Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burma.**

*To*

**J.T. Wheeler, Esq., Secy. to the Chief Commissioner  
of British Burma.**

With reference to your docket No. 14—10 (Political Department), dated 6th ultimo, I have the honour to forward an estimate for the maintenance of Ram Singh and his servant or companion Nanoo Singh for the current calendar year 1873, amounting to Rs. 373/-/- which, in my opinion, ought to be quite sufficient. This gives a monthly expenditure of Rs. 31-1-4.

2. It will be seen from the estimate sent that the monthly expenditure last year for Ram Singh was at the rate of Rs. 62-1-4 but this includes purchase of furniture, household requisites, cow and calf, and Rs. 73/- for an entertainment given to some Brahmins resident in Rangoon.

3. I attach a scale of diet for Ram Singh for approval. He has been in the habit of getting what he wished for, but as his wishes in this way were extravagant, and evidently meant to include the pampering with sweetmeats and luxuries of his prisoner attendant, I called Mr. Dobson's attention to the fact that Ram Singh was drawing solid food for himself and his companion at the rate of 4 lbs. each daily, and Mr. Dobson has, in consequence submitted the accompanying scale of diet, which allows 2 lbs. 5 oz. of solid food daily to each prisoner, besides one bottle of milk to Ram Singh.

4. Except Ram Singh and his follower are to be allowed whatever they wish for, I venture to solicit the Chief Commissioner's sanction to this scale.

---

**(DOCUMENT 45 G)**  
**Home Department Proceedings, October 1873**

Scale of diet for Ram Singh and his followers, or servant from 1st February, 1873.

Quantity for each day	Rice	Vegetables	Oil	Salt	Dal	Attah	Ghee	Sugar candy	Sugar	Pepper	Conlander seed	Cardamums	Condiment	Almonds	Total Quantity	Remarks
	9 oz	½ anna daily	½ oz	½ oz	3 oz	9 oz	4 oz	2 oz*	2 oz*	2½ drs.	4 drs.	½ dr.	8 drs.	1 oz 6 drs.	2 lb. 3 oz.	<p>A like quantity will be issued for his follower with an allowance of 3 lbs. of firewood to each and 4 oz. of lamp-oil daily. Ram Singh is allowed a bottle of milk daily.</p> <p>In addition, the following articles are issued monthly.</p> <p>½ viss onions.          ½ ,, mathee seed          1 pical assafoetida.          ½ lb. jewah seed.          ½ lb. seaf.</p>

\*Increased from 2 oz. to ½ lb. of each daily.

F.H. Dobson,  
 Superintendent, Central Prison.

Rangoon,  
*The 3rd February, 1873.*  
*No. 1621, Simla, dated 20th Sept. 1873*  
 Endorsed by the Home Department.

Forwarded to the Financial department for considerations and orders, with a copy of the letter dated 21st Dec. 1872 (original papers to be returned.)

# (DOCUMENT 45 H)

Statement showing the expenses incurred by the Superintendent of the Central Jail of Rangoon on account of State Prisoner Ram Singh and his follower Nonoo Singh from 15th March to 31st Dec. 1872, and probable cost for 1873.

Articles	Amount expended in 1872		Average monthly cost of 1872		Probable cost of yearly requirements, 1873		Average monthly cost of 1873		Remarks
	Rs.	As. Ps.	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.	Rs.	As. P.	
Food of Rations ...	318	13 6	31	4 9	318	0 0	26	8 0	
Clothing ...	18	5 0	1	8 5	20	0 0	1	10 8	
Drinking and Cooking Utensils ...	51	14 6	4	5 3	10	0 0	1	13 4	
Household Furniture ...	104	8 0	8	11 4	25	0 0	2	1 4	
Cows and Calf Rupees 20 and food ...	121	12 0	10	4 0	...			...	
Ceremony or entertainment of Brahmins ...	71	11 0	6	2 3	...			...	
<b>Total</b>	760	0 6	62	4 0	373	0 0	31	1 4	

V.P. Kelly, No. 91  
Inspector General of Prisons, British Burma.

Detention in British Burma of the Kuka Chief Ram Singh.

**(DOCUMENT 45 I)**

*No. 414-11-P,*

*Dated Rangoon, the 27th Aug. 1873.*

*From*

C.B. Cocke, Esq.,  
Asst. Secy. to the Chief Commissioner,  
British Burma.

*To*

A.C. Lyall, Esq.  
Secy. to the Government of India.

With reference to your letter No. 2269, dated 21st Dec. 1872, regarding the adjustment of the charges incidental to the detention in this province of the Kuka Chief, Ram Singh, I am directed to submit, for the information of the Government of India, a copy of letter No. 209, dated 14th February 1873, from the Inspector General of Prisons, together with a copy of its enclosures.

2. It will be observed that the total amount expended on account of Ram Singh and his follower Nanoo Singh from 15th March to 31st December 1872 was Rupees 760-0-6, and Dr. Kelly reports that the Superintendent of the Central Jail has estimated that their maintenance for the current year, 1873,

*From 15th March to 31st December, 1872	Rs. a.p.	will cost Rupees 373, or
From 1st January to 31st March 1873 (three months at Rupees	700.0.6.	Rupees 31-1-4 per mensem. From this it
31-1-4 per mensem. Total —	93.4.0.	will be apparent that
	853.4.6.	an assignment of Rupees
charges from 15th March 1872 to 31st March 1873.		853-4-6 will cover all

3. I am directed to say that, in addition to the sum of Rupees 373,- which will be required for the maintenance of Ram Singh and his follower during the year 1873-74, a special assignment of Rupees 500 will be a necessary to meet certain exceptional charges. A well has been excavated in the main

guard enclosure to obviate the necessity of Ram Singh having to send outside for water. This will probably cost Rupees 400, but will not be a recurring charge. Another milch cow has also been purchased for Ram Singh at a cost of about Rupees 90, so the assignment to meet the charges in 1873-74 should be Rupees 873. And the Chief Commissioner would suggest that for future years the assignment be fixed at Rupees 400 per annum ; but I am to point out that this sum will only suffice to meet the cost of the maintenance of Ram Singh and his follower, and will not cover any exceptional charges which may have to be incurred.

---

**(DOCUMENT 45 J)**

*No. 414-11P,*

*Dated 27th August 1873.*

*From*

**The Chief Commissioner of British Burma,**

---

Please see our No 2269, dated 21st Dec., 1872.

It will be seen that, for the expenses incurred on account of Ram Singh and his following during 1871-72 and 1872-73, a grant must be made of Rupees 853-4-6.

2. That for the year 1873-74 the ordinary expenses will amount to Rupees 373, but certain exceptional expenses have been incurred ; amongst others a well has been dug, and a special grant of Rupees 500 is required in addition. The total sum required for 1873-74 is, therefore, Rupees 873.

3. As to the permanent assignment to be allotted for further years, the actual dieting expenses amount to Rupees 31-1-4 a month, or Rupees 373 for the year, and Mr. Eden applies for a sum of Rupees 100 yearly to cover ordinary expenses. May be referred to Financial Department to pass the necessary orders.

**T.J.C.P., 11-9-73.**

**A.C L. 17-9-73.**

## (DOCUMENT 45 K)

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India  
in the Financial Department—

No. 3434

Dated Simla, 30th September, 1873.

READ—

An endorsement from the Home Department,

15th March to  
31st December  
1872. Rs. 760-0-6  
1st January  
to 31st March  
1873. Rs. 93-4-0

Total up Rs. 853-4-6  
to end of  
1872-73.<sup>f</sup>

For 1873-74—

Ordinary Rs. 373-0-0  
Extraordinary.  
Rs. 500-0-0

873-0-0

In future annually.  
Rs. 400-0-0

No. 1621, dated the 20th  
September 1873, forwarding,  
for consideration and orders,  
an application from the  
Chief Commissioner of British  
Burma for sanction to the  
amounts noted in the margin  
to meet the charges inciden-  
tal to the detention in British  
Burma of the Kuka Chief,  
Ram Singh.

### Resolution—Sanctioned

Orders,—Ordered, that the foregoing Resolution\* be for-  
warded to the Home Depart-  
ment for information and  
further orders, and to the  
Deputy Accountant General,  
British Burma for informa-  
tion, and guidance.

\*Original papers to be  
returned.

(True Extract).

J.W. Gardiner,

Offg. Under Secy. to the Government of India.  
Financial Dept.

No. 1702,

Dated Simla, 14th October, 1873.

Endorsed by the Home Department.

Copy forwarded to the Chief Commissioner of British Burma with reference to his letter No. 414-11P, dated 27th August last.

Abstract showing amount spent, from 16th March to 31st October 1872, on account of diet, clothing, &amp;c., for the Kuka Chief, Ram Singh and his servant or companion.

	Rs. a.p.
Diet	398-14-7
Clothing	38-12-0
Furniture	104- 8-0
A milch cow	90- 0-0
Ceremony expenses	73-11-6
For repairs executed by Public Works Department as per Secretary's letter No. 463-53, Political Department, dated 18th September 1872	1,232-11-0
Wages of 3 prisoner servants for the months September and October 1872 at Rupees 5 per month.	30- 0-0
Wages of 6 prisoners for conservancy purposes for the months of September and October 1872.	13 -0-0
	<hr/>
Total	1,981- 9-0
Deduct amount received by transfer receipt	100- 0-0
	<hr/>
Total Rupees	1,881- 9-0

W.P. Kelly,

Inspector General of Prisons,  
British Burma,Rangoon  
The 5th November 1872.

**(DOCUMENT 46)***To*

The Inspector General of Jails,  
Lower Provinces Alipore, Calcutta.

*No. 1059**Dated 23rd December., 1872.*

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 10416 of the 5th instant, I have the honor to report that the 3 Kuka State Prisoners therein referred to arrived here on the 14th Idem, and were taken out of the jail yesterday by the Commissioner of Police for conveyance to Moulmien.

I have &amp;c,

Sd./- S. Lynch.

Superintendent Alipore Jail.

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**(DOCUMENT 46 A)**

No. 11222.

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department for information, with reference to orders No. 5277 dated 28th November 1872.

Sd./-...W.L. Kelley,  
Inspector General of Jails,  
Lower Provinces

Alipore.

*31st December, 1872.*

True copy.

Sd./-...

Head Asstt., Judicial Department



**(DOCUMENT 46B)**

*From*

The Under-Secy. to the  
Government of Bengal,  
Judicial Department.

*To*

The Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*No. 137*

*Dated Calcutta, the 11th January, 1873.*

*Jails.*

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 200† dated the 31st October last to the address of the Government of the North Western Provinces, regarding the disposal of certain Kuka prisoners, I am directed to forward herewith for the information of His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, copy of a communication\* from the Inspector General of Jails, reporting that the three Kuka prisoners in question were made over to the Commissioners of Police for deportation to Moulmien.

\*No. 11222 dated  
31st December 1872.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./-...

Under Secretary to the Government  
of Bengal.

—

**(DOCUMENT 46C)***No. 83**17th January, 1873.**From*

**T. Wanchope Esq., C.B.  
Commissioner of Police, Calcutta.**

*To*

**The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,  
Judicial Department,  
Fort William.**

*Sir,*

With reference to your docket No. 5276 dated 28th November last, I have the honor to report for the information of the Hon'able the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the three Kuka state prisoners Lukka Singh, Jowahir Singh, and Brahma Singh, were safely delivered to the authorities in charge of the jail at Moulmien on the 30th ultimo.

I have &C  
Sd./- T. Wanchope.  
Offg. Commissioner of Police.

No. 276

Copy submitted to the Government of India Home Department for information, in continuation of this office letter No. 137 dated the 11th January 1873.

By order of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

Sd/.....

Under Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal.

**Calcutta,  
Judicial Jails,**

*The 22nd January, 1873.*

**(DOCUMENT 46D)**

*From*

Crawford B. Cocke, Esquire,  
Assistant Secretary to the Chief Commissioner

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated Rangoon, 10th May, 1873.*

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 2000 dated 31st October, 1872, I am directed to report for the information of the Government of India that the three Kuka prisoners named in the margin, arrived at Moulmien on the 30th December, 1872 and have been located in the Tryouktan wards of the Moulmien Jail, warrants under Regulation III of 1818 accompanied with prisoners.

Jowahir Singh.  
Lakha Singh.  
Brahma Singh

2. With reference to para 2 of your letter under reply I am directed to submit an estimate of the cost of maintaining and guarding these three men amounting in the aggregate to Rupees 90-8 per mensem.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./-.....

Assistant Secretary.

**(DOCUMENT 46 E)**

Confidential

Regn. No. 2938.

Estimate of the charges necessary to be incurred on account of rationing and guarding of the three Kuka prisoners.

Nature of Expenditure	Monthly cost			Remarks
For rationing 3 State Prisoners at 8 annas per diem for man...	46	8	0	
An extra guard of 4 men on a salary of Rupees 11/- per man.	44	0	0	
Total Rupees.	90	8	0	

(Sd.) W. Brown, Colonel,  
Commissioners Tenasserim Division.

Sd./-.....

**(DOCUMENT 46F)**

*From*

Crawford B. Cooke, Esquire,  
Offg. Assistant Secretary to the  
Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated Rangoon, 18th February, 1874.*

With reference to your endorsement No. 20, dated the 21st June 1873 forwarding a copy of a Resolution of the

Government of India in the Financial Department No. 949 dated 13th idem sanctioning an expenditure of Rs. 90/8/-per mensem for rationing and guarding of Kuka prisoners at Maulmien I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to forward a copy of letter from the Commissioner of Tannasrim No. 10 dated 21st ultimo, with enclosures pointing out that the sanctioned amount of Rs. 1286/- per annum has been exceeded by Rs. 812/4/- from the 7th January 1873 to the 2nd January 1874 and submitting a revised scale at an enhanced cost of Rs. 45/8 per annum.

Mr. Eden would recommend that the charge incurred during 1873 may be passed and that the scale fixed by the Commissioner of Tinasserim may also be sanctioned with effect from the 3rd January 1874. I am to request therefore that the sanction of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council may be obtained to these charges.

I have the honour to be  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant.  
Sd./-...  
Offg. Assistant Secretary.

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(DOCUMENT 46G)

*From*

Colonel D. Brown,  
Commr. Tinasserim Division.

*To*

Lieutenant Col. H.L. Duncan,  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner,  
British Burma,  
Rangoon.

*Dated Moulmien, the 21st January, 1874.*

Sir

In continuation of my letter No. 37, Political Department of 26th September last I have the honour to rerward to you

a copy of a letter No. 23 of the 19th, from the officer in charge of the Jail, in to you will see how for the Government sanction of eight annas a man for the three Kuka Prisoners has been extended.

2. In sanctioning an extra allowance to the Kuka Prisoners I was not aware that the amount for their subsistence had been positively fixed by Government. It was not till receipt of your letter No. 447/34 of the 16th September last that I knew from the letter of the Inspector General of Jails therewith and that the sanctioned allowance for feeding, clothing, and guarding, these prisoners was Rs. 1086/- per annum. I looked on them as other prisoners who were to be fed, clothed and guarded by the Jail Department and that the cost was to be paid by that Department. I was guided in agreeing to the rations at Rs. 1/4/- for each man per diem by the information I got from Dr. Sinclair in charge of the Jail who stated that the amount was necessary for the rations and clothing supplied to the men. On further inquiry and on comparing the rations allowed to Ram Singh and the followers at Rangoon with what had been supplied to the men here. I find that 12 annas a man is sufficient allowance for diem for food, and that Rs. 48/- for clothing will suffice. In addition there will be a charge of Rs. 92/- per mensem for guarding namely two peons at 11/- Rs. each per mensem. The charges hereafter will therefor be as follows :

	Rs. a.p.
Rations for three Kuka Prisoners at 12 annas each per diem for 12 months...	.....820.8.0
Clothing at Rs. 16/- each a man per annum	..... 48.0.0
Guarding of 2 peons at Rs. 11/- each per mensem charge per annum	.....264.0.0
<b>Total</b>	<hr/> <b>1132.8.0</b> <hr/>

The charge already sanctioned is Rs. 1086/- as the additional charge required will only be Rs. 46/8- per annum.

3. Copies of list of provision and clothing now and hereafter to be supplied to the three Kuka Prisoners are herewith forwarded.

I request you will be good enough to obtain the sanction of Government for Rs. 812/4/- paid in excess of the authorized amount from the 7th January 1873 to the 2nd January 1874 also authority for the payment of Rs. 46/8/- per annum from the latter date in excess of the sum of Rs. 1886/- already sanctioned.

I have & c.,

Sd./-

D. Brown Colonel

Commissioner of Tinasserim Division  
British Burmah.

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**(DOCUMENT 46H)**

**To**

The Commissioner of the Tenasserem Division.  
Maulmain.

*Dated Maulmain the 19th January, 1873-74.*

**Sir,**

In reply to your letter No. 401 of 1873-74 dated 15th instant political Department. I have the honour to submit the following information on the points noted by you and regret not having given you the fullest information at first.

1. A copy of the letter sanctioning the original cost of 8 annas per diem is herewith attached.

2. Soon after Doctor Sinclair took a charge you wrote to him demi—officially stating your opinion about the insufficient

quantity of food allowed these prisoners and gave a scale of food which amounted to Rs. 3/12/- per diem or Rs. 1/4/- per prisoner per diem you also asked Doctor Sinclair to enquire about their food, and to recommend what allowance he thought they ought to have over the 8 Annas per diem already sanctioned about the same time as your letter Doctor Sinclair addressed you, on the same subject and submitted the same scale of food as suggested by you for your orders, but I cannot find any correspondence after this letter until the increased expenditure was noticed by Government but from a letter of Doctor Sinclair written to you in September last. I conclude he had received orders from you to report the increase of expenditure to the Inspector General of Prisons, but which he states in his letter No. 275 dated 26th September 1873 to your address that he had omitted to do so thinking he had done so before, after this on the day previous to my taking charges. Doctor Sinclair submitted a fresh scale (vide letter No. 348 dated 8th ultimo). It appears then that there was no authority for the increased expenditure, which was passed for months before any retrenchment was made, in the first retrenchment made in October.

3. A Statement of the monthly seems in excess of the authorized amounts is appended.

4. The 12 Anna rate commenced from the 3rd of January, and will from enquiry I have made cover all charges, except the allowance for clothing and guarding which are separate. It is 12 Annas per man for diem, and gives them a good allowance of food. Of course they themselves cry out against it, but that is to be expected after the gross feeding they have undergone.

The present scale is Rs. 1155-4-0 against Rs. 1086/- the sanctioned allowance giving a difference of Rs. 80/4, but there is a reduction of 2 peons in the new scale.

I have &c.,

(Signed) K.G. Burne.

Assistant Commissioner in charge of  
M.G. Jail.

—



**(DOCUMENT 46 I)**

Government of India,  
Financial Department,

*Simla, the 13th June, 1873.*

Read an office Memo. from the Home Department No. 17 dated 29th May, 1873 recommending that the cost of Rs. 90-8-0 a month for rationing and guarding 3 Kuka prisoners at Moulmein and may be treated as a Political charge in the Imperial Estimate of British Burma.

Resolution.

Sanctioned.

Ordered that a copy of the above be forwarded to the Home Department for information and further orders and that a copy of this Resolution and the Estimate of charges be sent to the Deputy Accountant General British Burma for information and guidance.

(Sd.) D. Barbour,

Offg. Under Secy. to the Government  
of India.

**(DOCUMENT 46 J)**

Statement of showing of the average monthly cost and quantity of provisions to be supplied to Kooka Prisoners Jowahir Singh, Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh.—

Articles	Quantity	Rate	Average Monthly cost	Remark
	lb.			
Rice	126.0.0	@ 9 pies per lb.	5.14.6	Clothing and bedding sup- plied when absolutely necessary.
Vegetable	372.0.0	@ 2 pies per lb.	3.14.5	

	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Average Monthly cost</i>
Oil	3.0.0	@ as 3/6 per lb.	0.10.6
Salt	3.0.0	@ 3 pies per lb.	0.0 .7
Dhall	97.0.0	@ 3 pies per lb.	2.9.2
Sugar	45.0.0	@ as 3 pies per lb.	8.7.0
Ghee	30.13.0	@ as 9 per lb.	17.0.0
Flour	133.0.0	@ as 1/8 per lb.	11.12.0
Milk bottles	33/4.0.0	@ as 2 per lb.	14.8.6
Lamp Oil	7.0.0	@ as 3/6 per lb.	1.8.6
Firewood			1.8.
Soap	3	@ 2 per cate	0.6.
Tea and Coffee	3	@ as 3 per unit.	0.9.
Condiments	7	@ as 1/6 per lb.	0.10.6
Total			<hr/> Rs. 69.12.0 <hr/>

Maulmein  
the 3rd Jan. 1874.

Sd./- ...  
Asst. Commr. Incharge of the  
M.G. Jail.

**(DOCUMENT 46 K)**

Statement showing the average monthly cost of provisions now supplied to Kooka Prisoners Jowahir Singh, Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh.

Articles	Average monthly cost		
	Rs.	a.	p.
Flour.....	31	0	0
Ghee.....	31	6	0
Sugar, and Tea and Coffee.....	19	6	0
Rice.....	3	14	0
Masala.....	3	14	0
Dhall.....	3	14	0
Milk and Bottles.....	23	4	0
Total	Rs. 116	0	0

The 5 Jan., 1874.

Sd./- .....

Asst. Commissioner,  
Incharge of the Central Jail.

**(DOCUMENT 46L)**

Statement showing the annual cost and quantity of clothing and Bedding to be supplied to 3 Kooka Prisoners, Jowahir Singh, Lakha Singh and Brahma Singh,

**Clothing**

2	Coats for each man at 2/-.....	12.0.0
2	Pajamas —do— 1/8-.....	9.0.0
2	Turbans <sup>7</sup> —do— 1/8-.....	9.0.0
1	Pair Sandals—do— -/8-.....	1.8.0

Bedding			
1.	Quilt for each man @ 2/-.....	,,	6.0.0
1.	Mattress —do— @ 2/-.....	,,	6.0.0
1.	Pillow —do— @ -/8.....	,,	1.8.0
2.	Sheets —do— @ -/8.....	,,	3.0.0
Total			<u>48.0.0</u>

Sd./-

K. G. Burne,  
Assistant Commissioner,  
Incharge of Central Jail.

Maulmien.

*The 8th January, 1874.***(DOCUMENT 46 M)****Home Department**

(Judicial)

No. 413

*To*

The Chief Commissioner,  
B. Burma.

*Fort William, 14th March 1874.*

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 97/260, dated the 18th ultimo and in reply to say that the Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the disbursement of Rs. 812-4-0 being the charge incurred from 7th January 1873 to 2nd January 1874, in excess of the amount sanctioned from the maintenance and guarding of the 3 Kuka Prisoners at Moulmien.

2. The proposed scale, involving an additional cost of Rs. 46/8 per annum is also sanctioned with effect from the 3rd January 1874.

I have &amp; c.

Offg. Under Secy.

**(DOCUMENT 47)**

**Political Department**

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Government Bombay.

*No. 13. Dated Aden 11th January, 1873.*

Sir,

With reference to Government Resolution No. 6719 and 8366, dated respectively the 19th November and 23rd December 1872, I have the honor to state that the accommodation required for the two Kuka prisoners is now ready, the separate building erected in 1858 for the reception of the two Belooch State prisoners having been enlarged to a small extent.

2. The estimate for the monthly dietary expenses and a statement of the actual cost incurred in making the necessary repairs to the house will be forwarded on receipt from Surgeon Major James, the Superintendent of the Jail to which Officer the warrants of detention should be addressed.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Sd./-.....

Brigadier General  
Political Resident, Aden.

True Copy.

Sd./-

Superintendent, Political Department.

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**(DOCUMENT 47A)***From*

C. Gonne Esquire,  
Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*To*

H.L. Dampier Esquire,  
Officiating Secretary, Government of India,  
Home Department, Calcutta.

**Political Department**

Sir,

Referring to forwarded to of your letter quoted in the margin, I am directed to transmit the accompanying copy of a communication No. 13 dated No. 2003, dated 31st October, 1872. the 11th instant, from the Political Resident at Aden affording the information required by the Government of India as to the accommodation for the Kuka prisoners in the Jail there and the officer who is to have charge there.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Bombay Castle,

Sd./-.....

*28th January, 1873.*

Secretary to Government.

**(DOCUMENT 47 B)**

*Dated Fort William the 12th February 1873.*

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of the  
N.W.P.

Sir,

In continuation of para 7 of my letter No. 2004 dated the 31st October last, I am directed to state that the Kuka Prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh should now be sent to Bombay in communication with the Government of Bombay for detention at Aden. Warrants under Regulation III of 1818 which would be sent with the prisoners are enclosed.

One servant may be allowed to accompany the prisoners if they so desire but any attendant accompanying them must be subjected to the restriction described in para 5 of my letter above quoted.

3. The prisoner Mangal Singh regarding him the Lieutenant Governor will shortly receive a communication from Punjab Government will still remain at Allahabad.

I have and see ;  
Sd./-...

---

**(DOCUMENT 47C)**

*To*

The Superintendent of Jail,  
Aden.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Sahib Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Aden Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination to receive the person above named into your

custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the Governor General in Council,  
Sd./...

Secy. to the Government  
of India, in the Home Department.

*Fort William :*

*The 12th Feb. 1873.*

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**(DOCUMENT 47D)**

*To*

The Superintendent of Jail,  
Aden.

Whereas the Governor General in Council, for good and sufficient reasons, has seen fit to determine that Kahn Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Aden Jail, you are hereby required and commanded, in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody, and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of Regulation III of 1818.

By Order of the  
Governor General in Council,  
Sd./-...

Secy. to the Government of India,  
in the Home Department.

*Fort William :*

*The 12th Feb. 1873.*



**(DOCUMENT 47 E)**

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*Dated Aden 25th March, 1873.*

Sir,

I have the honor to report with reference to Government Resolution No. 1605 dated 15th Instant, that the two Kuka State Prisoners, Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh arrived here by the Mail Steamer Peshawar yesterday and that they have been lodged in the quarters which were prepared for their reception in the Aden Jail.

I have the honor to be

(Sd,)/-...

Brigadier General,  
Political Resident,  
Aden.

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 F)**

*No. 49*

*dated Aden, the 14th April, 1873.*

*From*

Surgeon-Major R.W. James, M.D.  
Superintendent of Jail,  
Aden.

*To*

The Political Resident at Aden.

With reference to my letter No. 30 of 1873, regarding the probable cost of dieting for two Kuka prisoners in this Jail, I

have the honor now that these men have been three weeks under my charge to confess my utter ignorance of their requirements when framing the estimate forwarded. These men require daily 21 lbs. of wheat-flour instead of 11 lbs. and 1 lb. of rice instead of 8 oz. This quantity seems enormous, but they actually do consume it. Under these circumstances, I beg to submit a revised estimate for the sanction of Government.

2. On the arrival of these men, they made an appeal to me for a personal servant, as the one they had engaged declined to accompany them from Bombay. I have in consequence hired a man of the Hindoo caste on a salary of Rs. 12 per mensem to cook their food and attend to their wants. This item of additional expenditure I have the honor to submit for sanction, as these Kuka prisoners arrived here with only Rs. 26, and three small gold coins of the value of Rs. 48, a very small cash balance for which to obtain any extras they may require.

3. Another request they have also made, *viz.*, to be allowed the value of the daily diet in money to enable them to expend it on such varieties of food as they may feel inclined for. As I am not authorized to grant this indulgence, I have to submit this point also to Government.

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 G)**

*No. 119/481*

*Dated Aden, the 17th April, 1873.*

*From*

Brigadier-General J.W. Schneider,  
Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Bombay,  
Political Department.

With reference to my letter No. 79/261, dated the 6th March 1873, I have the honor to forward a letter No. 42,

dated the 14th instant, with accompaniment, from the Superintendent of the Jail, representing the necessity of submitting a revised estimate for dieting the two Kuka prisoners who have been sent to Aden under the orders of the Government of India.

2. This estimate amounts to Rs. 62-8-8 per mensem, including the wages of a Hindoo Cook who has been engaged to attend to their wants, and I have to suggest that the formal sanction of Government may be accorded to this expenditure, as well as to the sum of Rs. 200 which was incurred in providing them with suitable accommodation.

3. As the two prisoners are confined under Regulation III of 1818, I have the honor to request the favor of being supplied with two copies of that enactment, one to be retained in the Residency Office for purposes of reference, and the other for the guidance of the Superintendent of the Jail, who is required, I believe, to submit periodical reports upon the prisoners in a manner laid down in the Regulation.

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**(DOCUMENT 47 H)**

No. 2282 of 1873.

*From*

C. Gonne, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.  
**Political Department.**

Sir,

Referring to correspondence ending with Mr. Wellesley's letters No. 232 dated 12th Feb. last, I am directed to forward, for the information of the Government of India,

the accompanying copy of a communication from the Political Resident at Aden No. 94/371 dated the 26th ultimo, reporting that the two Kuka State prisoners, Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh arrived at Aden on the 24th ultimo, and that they have been lodged in the quarters which were prepared for their reception in the Aden Jail.

2. Copy of this letter will be forwarded to the Government of the North-West Provinces.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

*Bombay Castle,  
17th April 1873.*

Sd./-...

Secy. to Government.

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**(DOCUMENT 47 I)**

Remarks on the file in G. G.'s Office.

Kuka Prisoners at Aden.

SEAL

*From*

Foreign Department.

*No. 2164*

*Dated 10th Sept., 1873.*

The Foreign Department sent us on the 1st September an Extract from the Return of Kuka prisoners remaining in the Bombay Presidency on the 30th June last, relating to two Kuka prisoners, at present confined in the Jail at Aden under Warrants issued by this Department. That Department now convey the orders of His Excellency in Council that these two prisoners should not be kept in the Jail but under Police surveillance. These are two out of the several Kuka prisoners now confined under Warrants issued this Department, in different Jails in India. We do not know the circumstances

under which His Excellency in Council has issued these orders.

It will be remembered that special accommodation has been prepared for these Kuka prisoners in the different Jails to which they have been sent and the expense for their maintenance is also borne by Government. In the case of the two men at Aden, Rs. 268 has been incurred, in preparing the accommodation in which they are now confined, and the monthly cost for their maintenance is Rs. 57-7 annas.

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**(DOCUMENT 47 J)**

The instructions issued to the local authorities at the time these prisoners were sent to the different jails, were that they should be kept in as close custody as is consistent with their health, and that they should be maintained on the scale of an ordinary artizan or petty Zamindar. That if the prisoners desire to spend their own money in additional luxuries they may do so at the discretion of local authorities.

In the Return received from Bombay, it is stated, that one of the prisoners, Sahib Singh, is in good health, but that the other is suffering from Inguinal hernia, the prisoners at the time the return was submitted had been in confinement three months, and eight days only.

Sd./-...

H.E. Orders refer only to the Kuka Prisoners at Aden and we may instruct Bombay accordingly.

Sd./-...

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 K)**

No. 2164 P.

**OFFICE MEMORANDUM.**

**Foreign Department, Political.**

*Simla, 16th September, 1873.*

With reference to office memorandum this Department No. 1478, dated 24th ultimo, the undersigned is directed to

convey the orders of His Excellency in Council that the Kuka prisoners at Aden would not be kept in the Jail, but under police surveillance.

Sd./-—

Under Secretary to the Government  
of India.

*To*

The Home Department.

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 L)**

No. 265/1059 of 1873.

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*Dated Aden, 30th October, 1873.*

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Government Resolution No. 6177, dated 11th instant, and to inform you that measures have been taken for placing the two Kooka State prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh under Police surveillance.

2. As, however, it is impossible to detach for separate duty with these prisoners constable of the regular Police Force moving to the already heavy duties of the Police and the paucity of their numbers. I have deemed it occasion to employ as a temporary measure 2 special watchmen or guards for attendance on the State prisoners, and I have to request the sanction of Government for the amount of pay of these two men at Rupees 15 each per mensem.

3. Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh are now lodged in the same house as the State prisoner Young Lat, but separated from him, so that no extra expense has been incurred on account of house renting.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Sd./-...

Asstt. Resident,  
for Political Resident, Aden

True copy.

Sd./-...

Superintendent,

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 M)**

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*Dated Aden, 26th Dec., 1873.*

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 119/481 and 265/1059, dated respectively 17th April and 30th October last, I have the honor to represent that in the amount Rs. 62.8.8, sanctioned in Government Resolution No. 3885, for the Political Department, dated 23rd June 1873, for the subsistence of the two Kuka prisoners detained here under Police Surveillance, there is no provision made for occasional necessary expenses for clothes book &c. There has been moreover since their release from the Jail, a small extra charge for brackish water for ablutionary purposes and for oil. Under these circumstances I have to ask the sanction of a Government to total expenditure of Rs. 102 per mensem, inclusive of Rs. 30 per two watchmen mentioned in my letter, No. 265/1059 of 1873. By this

arrangement there will be a sum of Rs. 9-7-4 available monthly for small current expenses, and this will, I am of opinion, suffice.

I have &c.,

Sd/...

B. General,

Political Resident, Aden.

True copy

Sd./-...

Superintendent.

---

**(DOCUMENT 47 N)**

*From*

C. Gonne, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government Bombay.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India.  
Foreign Department,

*Dated 29th November, 1873.*

**Political Department.**

Sir,

With reference to Mr. Officiating under Secretary Plowden's letter No. 24, dated the 1st ultimo, I am directed to forward herewith copy of a letter from the political Resident at Aden, No. 265/1059, dated the 30th idem, and to request that the Government of India may be moved to accord this sanction to the charge of Rupees 15 per mensem each for the two special watchmen employed by the Resident for attendance on the two Kooka State Prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/-...

for Secretary to Govt.

Bombay Castle,

*29th November 1873.*



(DOCUMENT 47 O)

Remarks on the file in Governor General's office

SEAL.

Kuka prisoners in Aden

*From*

Government of Bombay.

*No. 243d 29th November, 1873  
No. 196 dated 15th January, 1874.*

In a letter to the Government of Bombay No. 18 d/the 11th June 1873 we sanctioned Rs. 62-8-8 per mensem for dieting the two Kuka prisoners detained in the Jail at Aden.

I have instructions from His Excellency the Viceroy, and directed the Bombay Government in letter d/ 1st October, 1873 No. 24 not to keep the men in Jail but under Police surveillance.

The Bombay Government in the first of the letters noted above, request sanction to a charge of Rs. 15 per mensem each for the employment of two special Watchmen for attendance on the prisoners. It is stated that it is impossible to detach men for this duty from the regular police force.

In the second letter the Bombay Government ask for sanction to a sum of Rs. 9-7-4 for the occasional purchase of clothes, books and to meet a small charge for brackish matter for ablutionary purposes and for oil.

If the above proposals are sanctioned, the total expenditure for the custody of these prisoners will be Rs. 62-8-8 + 30 + 9-7-4 = Rs. 102 p.m.

For the two Kuka prisoners confined in the Chunar Fortress we sanctioned in letter d/ the 29th January 1873 No. 250 a monthly sum of Rs. 52-14-0 for their maintenance plus Rs. 4 for clothing, bedding, &c. On a representation from the Commandant of the Chunar Fortress the amount for clothing &c. was increased in the beginning of this year. The

total cost being Rs. 52-14-0+6-0-0=Rs. 58-14-0 whereas the proposed cost for the maintenance and clothing of the two men is Rs. 72 or Rs. 13-2 in excess, but while the men at Chunar are in close confinement, the men at Aden are only under Police surveillance.

The cost for guarding (Rs. 30) will be treated especially and under the circumstances seems necessary.

Sd./-...

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**(DOCUMENT 48)**

Quarter Master General's Office

*Poona 23rd December, 1872.*

*From*

The Quarter Master General  
of the Army.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Military Department,  
Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to Government Resolution Military Department, No. 5097, 29th ultimo, the Commandant, Asseerghur reports the arrival there on the 15th instant of the three Kooka prisoners named in the margin.

1. Rur Singh. 2. Malluk Singh. 3. Pahara Singh.

2. It has also forwarded the accompanying statement of the probable amount that will be required monthly for the support of three prisoners.

The Commandant at the same time requires whether the Bills for the maintenance of the Kuka prisoners should be

submitted to the Government of Bombay. I am to solicit the favour of information on this point.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,

Sd./-...

Officiating Quarter Master  
General of the Army.

---

**(DOCUMENT 48 A)**

For want of space only a summary is given leaving the details :—(Compiler)

(1) Food for three prisoners per year.		1080/-
(2) Common clothing.		75/-
(3) Warm clothing.		75/-
(4) Cooking utensils, if necessary		50/-
(5) 3 Cots mattresses etc. with Servants.		75/- 1355/-
(1) Waterman	per year	48/-
(2) House servant	"	72/-
(3) Dhobi	"	24/-
(4) Sweeper	"	30/-
(5) Barber	"	18/-
(6) Writer to keep account	"	84/- 276/-
Total		1631/-

Sd./- Captain. Fort adjutant

Sd./- Commandant.

---

**(DOCUMENT 48 B)**

Extract from Return (Class-II) of persons confined or put under restraint in accordance with the provision of Bombay Regulation XXX of 1827, or Bengal Regulation III of 1811 in the Bombay Presidency, for the half year ending 31st December 1872.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Place of detention	Name of Residence	Age	Caste, Race or Nationality	Whether in jail (1) Civil or (2) Criminal (or Under any Restraint or at large	Ground of detention	Term for which detained	Date from which detained	Period of detention already elapsed	No. & date of order of Govt. under which now detained	Allowance or cost to Govt. per mensem	Report of conduct, health & comfort of persons detained	Remarks
Asseerghur	1. Rur Singh Resident of Amritsar. 2. Phar Singh resident of Maloud. 3. Mulook Singh resident of Phulewala.	42 43 40	Ramgarhia. Jat. Jat.	Under moderate restraints in the fortress of Asseerghur.	Not known	Not known	15th December 1872	17 days Do Do	Warrant under Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal) vide Government of India's letter No. 2003 dated 31 October 1872 (/) Home Department	Not yet fixed.	Good	These men are under a military guard in quarters specially provided for them with liberty to move about the fortress singly under escort of men of the guard, and they are kept in as close a custody as is consistent with their health.

*Gooroo Ram Singh and the Kuka Sikhs*

300

**(DOCUMENT 48 C)**

*No. 271*

*Dated Aseergurh, the 26th Feb., 1873.*

*From*

Colonel St. John O'N, Mater, Commandant,  
Aseergurh.

*To*

C. Gonne, Esq.,  
Secy. to the Government of Bombay,  
Political Dept.

In continuation of my letter No. 63 of the 13th, ultimo, I have the honor to forward the accompanying memorandum of expenses incurred in subsistence, & c., to three Kuka State Prisoners confined in the fortress of Aseergurh, from 1st to 31st January 1873.

(1) for January 1873— Rs. 109-11-11 (Compiler)

(2) 15th Dec. to 31st Dec. 1872— Rs. 138-6-9 (Comiler).

I beg also to request that I may be favoured with the amount— for December 1872 at your early convenience, as per my above letter.

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**(DOCUMENT 48 D)**

(Confidential)

*No. 1360*

*Dated Bombay Castle, the 28th February, 1873.*

*From*

C. Gonne, Esq.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bombay,  
Political Department.

*To*

C.U. Aitchison, Esq., C.S.I.,  
Secy. to the Government of India,  
Foreign Department.

With reference to my letter of the 22nd inst. No. 1193, I am directed to submit, for the orders of the Government of

India, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Commandant, Aseergurh, dated the 26th idem, No. 271, enclosing a memorandum of expenses incurred on account of the maintenance, &c., of the three Kuka State Prisoners confined in fortress at Aseergurh, during January 1873.

2. Copy of the statement of expenditure for the month of December 1872 is also forwarded herewith.

---

**(DOCUMENT 48 E)**

*Asirgarh 14th March, 1873.*

*From*

The Commandant,  
Asirgarh.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Political Department, Bombay.

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 271 of the 26th February ultimo, I have the honor to forward the accompanying Memo of Expenses incurred in subsistence and to (3) Kuka State Prisoners confined in the Fortress of Aseergarh from 1st to 28th February 1873.

I beg also to request that I may be favoured with the amount for December 1872 and January 1873 at your early convenience as per my above letter.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Sd./-...

Commandant Aseergarh.

The total amount is Rs. 104-15-3 (Compiler).

---

**(DOCUMENT 48 F)**

Quarter Master General Office,

*Poona 28th March, 1873.*

*From*

The Quarter Master General of the Army.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Military Department,  
Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to Government Resolution No. 872 of 27th February 1873 I am desired by the Commander-in-Chief to subjoin transcript of letter from the Commandant at Aseerghur with the revised estimate for the maintenance of the 3 Kuka prisoners.

I have the honor to submit an amended estimate of the monthly cost of maintenance of the 3 Kooka Prisoners as per margin confined in this Fortress. The

1. Rur Singh.	amended estimate is carefully framed
2. Mulluck Singh.	on the actual expenditure, which has
3. Pahara Singh.	been incurred since the arrival of the
	prisoners on the 15th December last.

The estimate which accompanied my letter No. 1408 of the 10th December was prepared prior to the arrival of the prisoners and was in strict accordance with the scale allowed for the other seven state prisoners in confinement at the this fortress.

I regret I am unable to further reduce the cost of maintenance as a comparison of the prices current rate of Chunar and Aseerghur will show that the rates are considerably higher here. It is possible that the Officer Commanding at Chunar has a jail establishment incharge of the other prisoners confined

there available for the 2 Kuka prisoners under his charges. In this Fortress the small Establishment sanctioned for the Sambulpur State Prisoners is insufficient to attend to the Kooka prisoners also The Establishment engaged is as per

Writer @ Rs. 7 per month.	Rs. 7.0.0
Brahman cook	Rs. 8.0.0
House servant	Rs. 3.0.0
Dhobee	Rs. 2.0.0
Water carrier	Rs. 4.0.0
Barber	Rs. 1.0.0
Sweeper	Rs. 2.8.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Rs. 27.8.0</b>

margin at the total monthly cost of Rupees 27.8. a common clothing supplied to the prisoners on arrival was absolutely necessary on sanitary grounds, and the outlay for cooking utensils was a necessity that could not be avoided.

2. Colonel Mutter, the Commandant, states that an adjustment has been made of the charge connected with these prisoners since their arrival on the 15th December last, the Bills (copies concerned) for their subsistence having been forwarded to the Secretary to Government, Political Department, at the close of each month, and urges for an adjustment of the same, the money being due to the contracts upwards of 3 months.

I have the honour to be.

Sir,

Sd./-...

for Offg. Quarter Master  
General of the Army.

### (DOCUMENT 48 G)

*Asirgurh, 10th April, 1873.*

*From*

The Commandant, Asirgurh.

*To*

The Secretary to Government,  
Political Department,  
Bombay.

Sir,

I have the honor to bring to your notice that the Garrison Surgeon has reported it is necessary to the health of the Kuka



Prisoners confined in this Fortress that country cots be supplied to them, as lying on the Floors of their rooms it has been found to produce chest complaints and rheumatism. I request therefore sanction for the expenditure of the sum of Rupees Nine for three cots at Rs. 3 each.

I have the honor to request you will kindly inform me whether I should address you direct on matters connected with these prisoners.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servt.  
Sd./...  
Colonel,  
Commandant Asirgarh.

True copy.  
Sd./-...  
Superintendent.

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**(DOCUMENT 48H)**

*To*

The Chief Secretary to the  
Government of Bombay.

Sir,

With reference to para 2 of your letter No. 2535 dated the 28th ultimo, I am directed to state that the Commandant at Asirgarh should in future address his communications to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in regard to the expenses incurred on account of the Kuka State prisoners.

I have &c.,  
Sd./-...

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**(DOCUMENT 48 I)**

Governor General Office.

(Confidential)

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Financial Department,— No. 1959, dated Fort William, the 27th March 1873.

Read Again—

Financial Resolution No. 3909, dated the 11th October 1872, ruling that the cost of the maintenance of the Kuka prisoners at Allahabad shall be met from the Provincial Revenues of the North-Western Provinces.

Read the undermentioned papers :

1. Endorsement from the Home Department, No. 2003 dated 31st October 1872, forwarding extract from letter addressed to the Government of Bombay, sanctioning an expenditure on account of accommodation of Kuka prisoners sent via Bombay to Asseergurh and Aden estimated at Rs. 450, at the former place and Rs. 200 at the latter.

Letter from the Government of Bombay, to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 7041, 30th November 1872, forwarding a letter from the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, reporting the estimate for the accommodation at Aseergarh amounts to Rupees 437.

Letter from the Government of India, Department, to the Government of Bombay, No. dated 9th January 1873, stating that all connected with the confinement of the Kukas at Aden, would be decentralised including cost of additions to building before the came into force, have been entered and at should, therefore, be met from the Provincial Revenues.

Letter from the Government of Bombay, No. 1194, dated 22nd February 1873, explaining why the expense should not be a charge against the Provincial Revenues of Bombay.

2. Endorsement from the Home Department, No. 251, dated 29th January 1873, forwarding, with previous papers,

copy of the letter addressed to the Government, North-Western Provinces, sanctioning the disbursement of a sum not exceeding Rupees 52-14 per mensem for the maintenance of two Kuka prisoners confined in the Chunar Fort and a monthly allowance of Rupees 2 for their clothing.

3. Letter from the Government, North-Western Provinces, to the address of the Secretary in the Home Department, No. 58A, dated the 14th February 1873, requesting a re-consideration of the orders above read of 14th October 1872, on the ground that charges on account of other political detenues in these Provinces, including those confined in the Chunar Fort, where the Kuka prisoners now are, have hitherto been borne by Imperial Funds.

Resolution—On re-consideration, the Governor-General in Council observes that the charges for State prisoners should		be shown in the Imperial Budget under the head "Political Charges", and His Excellency in Council, in supersession of the previous order, is
North-Western Provinces...	(Allahabad)	
Central Provinces	...(Chunar)	
Bombay	...Aseergurh	
	...Aden.	

pleased to rule that the expenditure on account of the Kuka prisoners at all the places named in the margin shall be treated a political charge in the Imperial Budgets of the Provinces in which the prisoners are located.

*Order.*—Ordered, that a copy of this Resolution be sent to the Home Department, and that the original papers received therefrom be returned.

Ordered also, that a copy of the Resolution be sent to the Accountants General, Bombay and the North-Western Provinces, and the Deputy Accountant General, Central Provinces.

(True Extract).

D. Barbour,

Offg. Under Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Financial Department.

No. 9/11

Copy forwarded to the Government of Bombay for information.

Sd./- A.C. Lyall

Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Home Department

Fort William ;

*The 8th April 1873.*

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**(DOCUMENT 49)**

*No. 15**dated Chunar, the 30th November, 1872.**From*

Major W.S. Young,  
Commandant, Chunar and  
In Charge Political Prisoners.

*To*

A. Shakespear, Esq., Commissioner of the 5th or  
Benares Divisions.

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 299, dated 28th instant, and in reply to state that, before submitting an estimate of probable cost of subsisting the two Kuka prisoners, Maun Singh and Hookma Singh, I should feel obliged by your kindly letting me know what may be the social status of the two men : I mean with reference to their caste and their mode of living prior to their arrest. If the men are of a low standing, probably the sum granted formerly by the Government of India as monthly subsistence money for the Dutteah prisoners (now under supervision at Benares) per man would apply in their case. If they have any personal servants or have been allowed any special indulgences, these would have to be taken into account and great assistance would be afforded could you kindly obtain a memorandum of cost of dieting the two men from the officer in whose charge they now are.

2. We have already 12 men permanently residing in the

\*Five Arab chiefs from Bahrein, at Arab and Nabian followers of the above chiefs. The Hakeem Summo Shah (of Tonk) remanded into confinement (on suspicion of attempt to escape) pending orders from the Foreign Secy.

State Prison,\* so that there will be some difficulty in accommodating only four rooms with verandahs.

3. May I request the favor of information, also, in regard to the degree of restraint to which the two men have been subjected, and also as to whether they are quiet and well-conducted, or are likely to give trouble to the Prison's Non-Commissioned Staff?

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**(DOCUMENT 49 A)**

*No. 18*

*Dated Chunar, the 3rd December, 1872.*

*From*

Major W. S. Young, Commandant, Chunar, and  
In Charge of Political Prisoners.

*To*

A. Shakespear, Esq., [Commissioner of the 5th or  
Benares Division.

In continuation of my letter to your address marginally given, I have the honor to submit herewith an estimate of probable cost of subsisting per month the two Kuka prisoners Maun Singh and Hookma Singh lately arrived from Allahabad for confinement here.

No. 15, dated 30th  
November 1872.

2. The estimate has been carefully prepared, and the average rate of payment, for the various articles ascertained. It will be seen that, including pay of three servants, the average charge per prisoner per month will be about Rupees 26-8, or Rupees 53— per month for the two men.

In regard to the opium, the men say they are accustomed to the use of it, and Dr. Duncan, the Garrison Surgeon, in his

health report on the two men, states that Hookma Singh is apparently suffering "from want of the usual dose of the drug."

3. On the other side of the estimate I have given a list of articles required to start with for the two prisoners. This charge is, of course, exceptional, and not liable to repetition, and I would solicit the favor of your obtaining the sanction of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor to the defrayal of the amount needed, Rupees 33-0-3.

4. The men's clothing is very indifferent, but it will not, I think, need renewal immediately. When necessary, I will bring the matter to your notice.

5. May I also solicit the favor of information as to the treasury from which the funds sanctioned for maintenance of the two men should be drawn? The treasury at Mirzapore is the one with which our station is principally connected, so that, with permission, the monthly bill might be presented there for payment.

Estimate cost of subsisting per month the two Kuka political State prisoners, Maun Singh and Hookma Singh, who arrived at Chunar on the night of the 1st December 1872.

Articles	Per month		
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
(1) Two massas of opium per day, *1½ chittacks per month at Rs. 16 per seer.	1	4	0
(2) Two seers of milk per day, 1½ maunds per month, at 16 seers per rupee.	3	12	0
(3) Eight chittacks of sugar per day, 15 seers per month, at 3 seers per rupee.	5	0	0

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\*The men have, they say, always been allowed opium. Hookma Singh already suffers from want of it.—S.S.Y.

(4) Eight chittacks ghee per day, 15 seers per month, at $1\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee.	12	0	0
(5) Two seers atta per day, $1\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per month, at 12 seers per rupee.	5	0	0
(6) One seer rice per day, 30 seers per month, at 8 seers per rupee.	3	12	0
(7) Eight Chittacks dal (Oorud) per day, 15 seers per month, at 12 seers per rupee.	1	4	0
(1) One chittack salt per day, 1 seer $1\frac{1}{2}$ chittacks per month, at 5 seer per rupee.	0	6	0
(9) One chittack bazar spices per day, 1 seer $1\frac{1}{2}$ chittacks per month, at one seer per rupee.	1	14	0
(10) One seer vegetables per day, 30 seers per month, at 16 seers per rupee.	1	14	0
(11) Ten seers fire-wood per day, $7\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per month, at 3 maunds per rupee.	2	8	0
(12) Two chittacks oil per day, 3 seers $1\frac{1}{2}$ chittacks per month, at 5 seers per rupee.	1	4	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	39	14	0

### SERVANTS

	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>p.</i>
(1) 1 Brahmin Cook	5	0	0
(2) 1 Kahar	5	0	0
(3) 1 Dhoby	3	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13	0	0

*Chunar :* Grand Total

---

52 14 0

*The 3rd December, 1827.*

W. S. Young, Major,  
Commanding at Chunar.

Articles which have already had to be ordered for the two prisoners, as they arrived unprovided with them, subject to sanction.

	<i>Rs. a. p.</i>
1 Iron kurahee for boiling milk	2 0 0
1 Brass spoon	0 12 0
1 Iron spoon	0 2 0
2 Brass bultothees	5 0 0
2 Brass thalees	5 0 0
1 Copper gugra (for carrying and storing water)	6 0 0
2 Kutorahs	2 0 0
1 Pair tongs	0 1 0
2 Brass drinking cups	2 0 0
2 Lotahs	3 0 0
2 Settrenges (for bedding)	6 0 0
1 Jala	0 4 0
2 Gurrahs	0 0 6
2 Choolahs	0 1 0
8 Handees	0 10 0
2 Brooms	0 0 3
1 Iron tawa	0 8 0
<b>Total</b>	<b>33 0 3</b>

W. S. Young, Major  
Commanding at Chunar.

---

**Note :—**There are no cooking things belonging to the State Prison. Each set of prisoners is provided with articles for the man's individual use, the prisoners being of various castes and creeds.

—W.S.Y.



**(DOCUMENT 49 B)**

*No. 339*

*Dated Camp Coruckpore, the 9th Dec., 1872.*

*From*

A. Shakespear, Esq.,  
Commr. of the 5th or  
Benares Division.

*To*

C.A. Elliott, Esq.,  
Secretary to the Government  
of the N.W. Provinces.

In accordance with the instructions conveyed in your endorsement No. 231A of 22nd ultimo, I communicated with the Officer Commanding at Chunar in regard to the allowance necessary for the Kuka prisoners Maun Singh, and Hookma Singh, and I have the honor to forward two communications in original received from that officer on the subject.

2. Major Young's first letter was written before the arrival of the prisoners at Chunar. With his second letter he forwards an estimate of the cost of maintaining the men, with a list of articles with which it has been found necessary to supply them at once.

3. As the Officer Commanding at Chunar has experience in regard to these matters, I recommend that his estimate for dieting be sanctioned, and the articles already supplied allowed.

4. I conclude that the necessary funds will be drawn from the Mirzapore Treasury.

---

**(DOCUMENT 49 C)**

*No. 21*

*Dated Chunar, the 18th December, 1872.*

*From*

Major W.S. Young, Commandant, Chunar, and  
In Charge Political Prisoners.

*To*

C.A. Elliott Esq.,  
Secy., to the Government of the N.W. Provs.

I have the honor to enclose herewith a true copy of a letter with its accompaniment as per margin, addressed by me to the

No. 18, dated 3rd December 1872,  
with estimate for subsisting two Kuka  
State prisoners.

Commissioner, 5th Division, Benares, relating to the monthly cost of maintaining the two Kuka

State prisoners (Maun Singh and Hookma Singh) lately arrived from Allahabad for detention here. Having as yet received no reply from the Commissioner, I venture to address you on the subject direct, in order that time may be gained in receiving the orders of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor on the point under reference; meanwhile the contract for their food, & c., remains in abeyance.

2. With my present communication I beg to forward a list of the clothing received over with the two prisoners from Allahabad. Many of the atticles are very old, and have fairly served their time, and I would solicit the orders of His honor as to the mode in which these two men's clothing is to be renewed, i.e. whether the clothing is to be renewed at any stated periods and in the present proportion, or as each separate article becomes worn out; also whether I am permitted to submit bills on the Mirzapore (the nearest) Treasury for amount of these clothing bills, attaching thereto a certified list of the articles purchased and their several prices. The present clothing would last another two or three months.

### 3. Soliciting early orders.

P.S.— I would solicit the favour of information as to whether I am at liberty (as in the case of the other prisoners and the Secretary, Government of India, Foreign Department), to address you direct in regard to the two Kuka prisoners, or through the Commissioner, 5th Division.

List of clothing in possession of Maun Singh and Hookma Singh, Kuka State Prisoners, on their arrival at Fort Chunar on 1st December 1872.

In possession of Maun Singh		In possession of Hookma Singh	
Articles	No.	Articles	No.
Pyjama	2	Pyjama	2
Coorta	2	Coorta	2
Safa	2	Safa	1
Chuddur	1	Chuddur	1
Aason	2	Aason	...
Dotee	1	Dotee	...
Goodree	2	Goodree	2
Kamall	1	Kamall	1
Loi	...	Loi	2
Chunar : The 2nd December 1872		W.S. Young, Major, Commandant, Chunar.	

**(DOCUMENT 49 D)***Dated Fort William, the 26th January, 1873.*

To

The Secretary to the  
Government of the N.W.P.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 11A, dated the 11th instant, and in reply to state that the Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the disbursement, monthly, of a sum not exceeding Rs. 52-14-0 for the maintenance of the two Kuka prisoners confined in the Chunar Fortress. The proposal to allow a fixed monthly sum of Rs. 2/- per prisoner for clothing, in addition to the allowance for food is also approved :

2. I am to add that opium should only be given to the prisoners under the order of the Judicial Officer in attendance.

I have etc.

Sd./-...

Offg. Under Secy.

No. 237

Copy of corres ; forwarded to the  
Financial Department.

## (DOCUMENT 49E)

## Governor General's office file

Extract from a letter from Major W. Soddon Young, Commandant Chunar (incharge of Polt. Prisoner) dated 1st January 1874.

4. I would, however, very respectfully submit to the notice of His Excellency in Council the smallness of the sum sanctioned for purchase of the clothing &c., of the two Kookas prisoners. For the maintenance of these two men, both as regards purchase of clothing, of bedding, of shoes, and of other petty requirements and for the repairs or replacement of cooking apparatus and other needful utensils, the sum of Rupees 2/- (two rupees) per man or Rs. 48 (forty eight rupees) per annum for the two prisoners is sanctioned and, after an experience of twelve months, I beg to report that the above sum has been found quite inadequate to maintain the two prisoners properly, as regards clothing, bedding &c. The allowance passed monthly, for their dieting is found to be sufficient. The difficulty is increased by the fact that the money allowed for the above purpose is payable by monthly instalments of rupees 4 (four rupees) is that until a sufficient sum has been collected (say in six months) none but very petty purchases can be made the funds in hand being insufficient till thus accumulated. I would therefore respectfully suggest that the monthly amount now sanctioned be increased from Rs. 2 (two rupees) per man to Rs. 3/- (three rupees) per man *per mensem* making a total of Rs. 72 (seventy two rupees) for the clothing, bedding shoes, and petty replacements of the two men *per annum*: and that permission be accorded to the Commandant (or officiating Commandant) to at any time submit bills on the Collector of Mirzapur supported by proper vouchers within the above limits both of *time* and of *amount* on account of purchases of clothing viz. for two Kookas; in place of receiving and fixed monthly allowance for that purpose.

.....

Nos. 101P.

The above extract (para : 4) forwarded to the Home Department for disposal :

Foreign Deptt.  
(Political)

Fort William,  
The 10 January, 1874.

By order.

Sd./-...

The Under Secy. to the Govt.  
of India.

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**(DOCUMENT 49 F)**

*Judl. B. P. June 7th. No. 321.*

No. 133.

Home Department.

(JUDL)

Calcutta, 23 January 1874.

To

The Secretary to the Government of the  
N. W. P.

Sir,

In continuation of the letter from this office No. 250 dated the 29th I am directed to forward the accompanying Extract from a letter from the Commandant at Chunar, representing the inadequacy of the sum allowed for clothing &c., to the two Kuka Prisoners confined in the Fortress at this Station, and to state that H.E. the Governor-General in Council is pleased to increase the allowance on this account from Rs. 48 to Rs. 72/- per annum and the collector of Mirzapur may be told to grant a permanent advance equivalent in amount to the allowance for one quarter.

I have & c.,

Sd./-...

Offg. Under Secy.

No. 134.

Copy forwarded to the Officer-in-charge of Poll. Prisoners,  
at Chunar.

---

**(DOCUMENT 50)**

Memo No. 68

*Dated Lahore, 15th September, 1873.**To*

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Forwards, for information a guidance, a circular by  
 Punjab Government, regarding the  
 Recent doings in various places Kukas and their recent doings in  
 certain districts.

2. District Superintendent of Police should be enjoined  
 Prompt reports to be made to be watchful and to promptly  
 which they may get. report any thing of importance

**(DOCUMENT 51)**

KUKAS

Memo no. 82

*Dated Lahore, 18th November, 1873**To*

All Deputy Inspectors General of Police.

Forwards copy of no. 4, 191, of the 8th instant, from the  
 Secretary to Government, Punjab, and  
 annexure, on the subject of Kukas, desi-  
 The surveillance over Kukas not to be ring that care be taken to prevent the  
 necessarily vexatious surveillance over this sect being un-  
 necessarily vexatious.

Government Punjab—Home Department.

Confidential Circular No 71—4,190

*Lahore, Dated 8th Nov., 1873*

*From*

The Secretary to Government,  
Punjab.

*To*

All Commissioners in the Punjab.

With reference to circular no. 279C\*, dated the 28th August last, on the subject of the Kukas, information has reached the Government from various sources that the members of the sect are dispirited and its numbers diminishing, while their movements are subjected to close surveillance by the police.

2. His Honor, while desiring that the vigilance of district police officers be in no way relaxed, begs that care be taken to prevent the surveillance being unnecessarily vexatious. The movements of Kukas should continue to be closely watched and promptly reported, but, so far as possible, individuals should not be harassed.

3. You are requested to obtain and submit, for the districts of your division, a return of the Kukas placed on security under the instruction contained in previous circulars.

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Endorsement by Punjab Government, Home Department

No. 4, 191

*Dated Lahore, 18th November, 1873*

Copy forwarded to Lieutenant Colonel G. Hutchinson, C.S.I., Inspector General of Police, Punjab, in continuation of this office Circular no\* 279,C. of the 28th August last.

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\*Vide no. 27 at page 32.

# (DOCUMENT 52)

Extract from the Return of State Prisoners, rated in class II, remaining in the Bombay Presidency on 31st December, 1873.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Place of detention	Name and Residence	Age	Caste or nationality	Whether in Jail (1) Civil, or (2) Criminal, or under any restraint or at large	Ground of detention	Term for which detained	Date from which detained	Period of detention already elapsed	Number & date of order of Govt. under which now detaining	Allowance or cost to Govt. per mensem	Report of conduct, health, and comfort of persons detaining
Asseerghur	Kooka prisoners										
	1. Rur Singh of Amritsar	43	Ram Guddia	Under moderate restraint in the Fort of Asseerghar	Not known	Not known	15th Dec. 1872	Yrs. M.D. 1    17	Warrant under Ben-gal Regn. III of 1818 vide Govt. of India letter No. 2003 of 31st Oct. 1872 (Home Dept.)	Rs. as p. ABOUT Rs. 100	Good
	2. Pahar Singh of Malode	44	Jat								
Aden	3. Malook Singh of Phulewala	41	Jat								
	4. Sahib Singh of the Punjab	40½	Sikh	Under restraint in the Criminal Jail at Aden			24th Mar. 1873	9-8	Letter in the Foreign Deptt., No. 1331P., dated 19th June 1873.	62.8.8.	Conduct good. Health of No. 4 not good. No. 5 suffering from Hernia
	5. Kahan Singh of the Punjab	60½	do								

(True Extract)  
Sd./- Illegible.  
Registrar, Foreign Deptt.



**(DOCUMENT 53)**

*From*

T.H. Thornton, Esquire, D.C.  
Secretary to Government,  
Punjab.

*To*

A.P. Howell, Esquire,  
Offg. Secretary to the  
Government of India,  
Home Department,  
Calcutta.

*No. 378*

*Dated Lahore, 26th January, 1875.*

**Home**

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 57, dated 13th January forwarding for opinion copy of a letter from the Secy. to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah reporting the desire of the Kooka State Prisoner, Ram Singh to send for his brother to visit him.

2. In reply I am directed to forward in a separate packet marked Confidential copy of the papers noted in the margin,

1. Confidential Report of Commissioner Ambala Division and enclosures No. 23 of 15th instant and His Honor's orders thereon, and to state that in the Lieutenant Governor's opinion it would be very

unadvisable to accede to Budh Singh's request; on the contrary.

2. Petition from Budh Singh and others praying for the release of Ram Singh and His Honour's orders thereon. His Honour considers that Ram Singh should not be allowed to see

any persons from the Punjab, and that all his communications should be narrowly watched.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd./-.....?)

for Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

**(DOCUMENT 53A)***No. 229**Fort William, 13th Feb., 1875.**From*Home Dept.  
(Judl.)

The Chief Commr. of British Burmah.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter to the Govt. of India in the Foreign Deptt. No. 515...14P dated the 21st November last. and in reply to say that the Kooka state prisoner, Ram Singh should not be permitted to send for his brother or to see any other person from the Punjab ; and that all his communications should be narrowly watched.

I have etc.

Sd./-.....

Offg. U/Secy.

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**(DOCUMENT 53B)***No. 230**Fort William, 13th Feb., 1875.**From*Home Dept.  
Judl.*To*The Secretary to the  
Government of the Punjab.

Sir,

With reference to your letter No. 378, dated 26th ultimo, I am directed to forward the accompanying copy of a com-

munication addressed to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah regarding Ram Singh's desire to send for his brother.

2. I am also directed to ask for a report showing the result of the investigation, and of the prosecution, if any and instituted, in connection with the case described in the Confidential Report of the Commissioner of Ambala.

I have etc.

Sd./-.....(?)

Offg. U/Secy.

---

(DOCUMENT 54)

*From*

The Superintendent of Jail,  
Aden.

*To*

The 1st Assistant Political Resident,  
Aden.

*Aden Jail Office, 2nd January, 1875.*

Sir,

In reply to your No. 929 of 1874, I have the honor to report, for the information of the Resident. that both the Kooka prisoners are suffering from the effects of residence in Aden.

One of them by name Kahn Singh has been lately under treatment for ulceration of the eye, (acute-corneites) together with boils on his extremities and his general state of health is bad.

The other by name Sahib Singh, although he is not the subject of any special disease, has become wasted, and is in a more debilitated state, than when he first arrived.

Under these circumstances, I am of opinion that change to a more temperate climate than Aden would be beneficial to both prisoners, but I do not consider it absolutely necessary that they be removed from Aden until the commencement of the hot weather.

I have etc.

Sd/-

Supdt. of Jail.

---

(DOCUMENT 54A)

*From*

The Political Resident,  
Aden.

*To*

The Secretary to Govt.,  
Political Department,  
Bombay.

*Dated Aden, 9th January, 1875.*

Sir,

I have the honor to forward a Return of State Prisoners under detention at Aden for the half year ending the 31st December 1874.

2. I have noticed for the last few months that the Kooka State Prisoners are failing in health and both have greatly changed in appearance since their confinement at Aden, as the climate is most trying to Natives of the Northern part of India.

3. I called upon the Civil Surgeon and Superintendent of the jail for a special report on the Kooka prisoners, and transmit his letter in original for the information of the Govt.

4. If state considerations are not approved to the measure, I would strongly recommend that the Kooka prisoners be trans-

ferred to a cooler climate than that to be found at Aden before the end of March. If they remain at Aden it will I think be with danger to their lives.

I have etc.  
Sd./-  
Political Resident  
Aden.

---

**(DOCUMENT 54B)**

*From*

C. Gonni, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government,  
Bombay.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated 6th February, 1875.*

Political Department.

Sir,

Referring to previous correspondence, I am directed to forward herewith copy of a letter from the Political Resident at Aden, No. 5-29 dated the 9th ultimo, and of the Civil Surgeon's report enclosed, and to request that you will be so good as to obtain the instructions of His Excellency the Governor General in Council with reference to the presentation of the Resident regarding the health of the two Kooka state prisoners, Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh, detained at Aden.

[I have the honour to be,  
Sir,

Bombay Castle,  
6th Feb. 1875.

Your most obedient Servant,  
Sd./-.....?  
for Secretary to Government

**(DOCUMENT 54C)**

Home Department  
(Judicial)

*Fort William, 19th Feb., 1875.*

*To*

The Secretary,  
to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir,

I am directed to forward the accompanying letter from the Government of Bombay, No. 828, dated the 6th instant regarding the bad state of health of the two Kooka prisoners detained at Aden, and I am to enquire what arrangement the Lieutenant Governor would recommend for making a change in the place of detention.

Early reply is requested.

I have etc.  
Sd./-.....?  
19/2.

Copy forwarded to the Foreign Department with the intimation that that department will be consulted before any change is made in the place of detention.

Sd./-.....?

**(DOCUMENT 54D)**

*From*

T. H. Thornton Esquire, D.C.L.,  
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

*To*

A.P. Howell, Esquire,  
Offg. Secy. to the Government of India.  
Home Department.

**Home**

*No. 846*

*Dated Lahore, 1st March, 1875.*

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 251, dated 19th February (Judicial), I am desired to state that the Hon'ble the

Lieutenant Governor has no objections to the two Kuka prisoners now at Aden being allowed to reside, under proper surveillance any where out of the Province of the Punjab except Allahabad.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient Servant,  
Sd./-.....E.W. Trotter

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**(DOCUMENT 54E)**  
(Governor General's Office Note)  
Punjab Government

*No. 846*

*Dated the 1st March, 1875.*

The lives of two State Prisoners (Kukas) are said to be in danger by their confinement at Aden. The Punjab Government does not object to their removal to any where in India out of Punjab except to Allahabad. Hazaribagh might be a good place for them.

Sd/—I.C.  
9.3.

Yes, or anywhere in Bengal if Bengal agrees. (Early orders are necessary)

Sd./-...?  
10.3.

If the Governor General does not object, I think Sir R. Temple might be asked to take them at Hazaribagh.

Sd./- E.C.B.  
11.3.

Draft at once to Bengal and telegraph to Mr. Temple.

N. 12/3  
(Governor General)

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**(DOCUMENT 54F)*****From***

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bengal,  
Judicial Department.

***To***

The Offg. Secretary to  
the Government of India.  
Home Department.

***No. 1086******Dated Calcutta, 15th March, 1875.*****Jails.****Sir,**

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 352, dated the 12th instant with enclosures herewith returned, and in reply to state that the Lieutenant Governor has no objection to the two Kooka prisoners there in reported to being detained at Hazareebagh.

2. Although the Central jail at this place is not ready to receive political prisoners there is separate building within the European Penitentiary where such men could be confined.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Sd./-.....(?)

Secretary to the Govt.  
of Bengal.

---



**(DOCUMENT 54G)**

No. 407.

Home Department  
(Judicial)

*No. 407*

*Fort William, dated 22nd March, 1875.*

*To*

The Solicitor,  
to Government

Sir,

As will be seen from the papers accompanying this letter,

N.W.P. Govt. No. 331 dated 12th  
February 1873. and enclosures.

Bombay Govt. No. 332. dated 12th  
February 1873.

Do No. 24, dated 1st October 1873.

To be returned.

accordance with the provisions of Regulation III of 1818. It was subsequently described that they should not be confined in the jail but should be detained at Aden under Police surveillance, and orders were accordingly issued to the Government of Bombay.

two Kuka State prisoners, named Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh, were ordered in February 1873 to be detained in the jails at Aden under warrants addressed to be Superintendent of that jail in

2. It having been represented that further detention at Aden would endanger the lives of the two prisoners, the Bombay Government has been requested to remove them and it has been arranged that they shall now be detained at Hazareebagh. I am therefore to request that you will be good enough to prepare the papers necessary to effect legally the transfer of the prisoners from Aden, via Bombay to Hazareebagh. At Hazareebagh they will be made over to the Superintendent of the European Penitentiary.

I have &c.

A.H.

20/3.

**(DOCUMENT 54H)***To*

The Secy. to the Govt. of  
Bombay.

---

*Sir,*

In continuation of my telegram No. 351 of the 12th instant, I am directed to say that arrangements have been made for the detention of the Kooka prisoners, Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh at Hazareebagh in Bengal. Formal order for the transfer of the prisoners to Hazareebagh will shortly be sent to the Government of Bombay.

I have & c.

A.H.

20/3

---

**(DOCUMENT 54I)***From*

Charles Sanderson, Esq.  
Solicitor to Government.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of India.  
Home Department.

*No. 317*

*Dated Fort William, the 23rd March, 1875.*

*Sir,*

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 407 dated yesterday with enclosures. The proper course to adopt for having the State prisoner Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh transferred to Hazareebagh is for the Governor General in Council to issue an order for the authorities at Aden, under whose charge the Prisoners are, to send the

Prisoner from Aden to Bombay under the Provisions of Section V of Act III of 1858. The order should state the mode in which the prisoners should be conveyed to Bombay. On the arrival of the Prisoners at Bombay a warrant under the Provisions of Regulations III of 1818 addressed to the Superintendent of the Jails; at Bombay should then be issued for the detention of the Prisoners there are another order issued by the Governor General in Council under the provisions of Act III of 1858 for the transfer of the prisoners to Hazareebagh and a warrant under Regulation 3 of 1818 addressed to the Superintendent of the European Penitentiary issued directing him to receive the Prisoners into custody.

2. I believe there are forms in your office of orders by the Governor General in Council for transferring Prisoners under Act V of 1858, if there are I shall feel obliged if you will direct a form to be sent to me. If there are no such forms I will prepare the necessary orders and warrants.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd./..... (?)

Solicitor to the Government  
of India.

---

**(DOCUMENT 54J)**

*From*

Charles Sanderson, Esq.,  
Solicitor to Government.

*To*

Col. B.E. Bacon,  
Incharge of the Home Department.

*Dated Fort William, the 1st April, 1875.*

Sir,

With reference to the letter No. 407 dated the 22nd ultimo from the Officiating Secretary and the letter of the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India No. 420 dated 24th ultimo I have the honor to send you,

1. Order to transfer Sahib Singh from Aden to Bombay.

Ditto.....Ditto.....Kahn Singh.....Ditto.

I am not aware of the proper description of the authority charge of the two Prisoners at Aden this will have to be filled up.

2. Order, under Regulation 3 of 1818, for the Jailor at Bombay to receive Sahib Singh.

Ditto.....Ditto.....Kahn Singh.

3. Order to Jailor at Bombay to convey Sahib Singh to Hazareebagh.

Ditto.....Ditto..... to convey Kahn Singh.

4. Order to superintendent of European Penitentiary at Hazareebagh under Regulation III of 1818 to retain in custody Sahib Singh.

Ditto.....Ditto.....Kahn Singh.

I return the correspondence and enclosures which accompanied the Officiating Secretary letter No. 407.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant

Sd./-.....?

Solicitor to the Government  
of India.

---

**(DOCUMENT 54 K)**

*From*

The Commissioner of Police,  
Bombay.

*To*

C. Gonne, Esquire,  
Secretary to Government,  
Political Department,  
Bombay.

Police Commissioner's Office.

*Bombay 24th April, 1875.*

Sir,

With Reference to Government Resolution No. 2713 dated 19 instant, with accompaniments, I have the honor to report that the two Kooka State Prisoners, Saheb Singh and Kahn Singh were duly despatched to Hazareebagh via Allahabad yesterday under charge of one European Inspector and two Native Constables.

2. The warrants of these prisoners addressed to the Superintendent of the European Penitentiary Hazareebagh were also sent with them.

3. I beg to return herewith the two original warrants under which the prisoners were kept in confinement at Aden.

I have & C.  
Sd./- T.H. Sonter.  
Commr. of Police.

True copy  
Sd./.....?  
Superintendent.

**(DOCUMENT 54L)****Hazareebagh.***21st May, 1875.***To****The Superintendent of Jails,  
Hazareebagh.****Sir,**

I have the honor to inform you that the Kooka prisone Sahib Singh, who is now confirmed in the European Penetentiary, is suffering from Diabetes, a disease of a most serious nature though slow in its progress—I may add that Diabetes though amenable to palliative treatment is very rarely cured.

I have & Co.,  
Sd./-  
Civil Surgeon.

True copy/  
Sd./-  
Superintendent,  
European Penitentiary.

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**From****The Superintendent,  
European Penetentiary,  
Hazareebagh.****To****The Inspector General of Jails.  
Alipore.***Dated Hazareebagh 22nd May, 1875.***Sir,**

I have the honor to forward copy of a report No. 1921 dated the 8th instant, submitting a report on the health of the

Kuka State prisoner Sahib Singh at present confined in the Hazaribagh Penitentiary and to say that the prisoner should receive all the care the Civil Surgeon of Hazareebagh can.

Sd/- 17/6

Sd./- 18/6

*From*

The Officiating Inspector General of Jails,  
Lower Provinces.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of Bengal,  
Judicial Department.

*Dated Alipore, the 3rd June, 1875.*

Sir,

I have the honor to forward herewith for the information of Government a letter from the Superintendent of the Hazareebagh European Penetentiary, containing a report of the medical officer regarding the health of the Kooka State prisoner, Sahib Singh.

I have & Co.

Signed/-

Offg. Inspector General of Jails.

L P.

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## (DOCUMENT 55)

*From*

Lieut. Colonel H.T. Duncan,  
 Officiating Secretary to the Chief Commissioner

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
 Home Department, Simla.

*Dated Rangoon, 23rd April 1875.*

With reference to previous correspondence regarding the Kookah prisoner Ram Singh now in Rangoon ending with your letter No. 229 of the 13th February last, I am desired to inform you that two prisoners a man and woman, arrived in Rangoon from Calcutta by the steamer of the 16th instant. Their names are Harnam Singh and Mrs. Chando.

They produced paper A to be a purwanah or order from the Punjab Government in forming them that Ram Singh is in Rangoon and they should apply there for permission to see him.

2. These individuals were informed that they could not have an interview with Ram Singh, they were put under Police atonce and will be sent to Calcutta by the steamer leaving this on 25th instant. Policeman will accompany them and the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta will be informed regarding them.

3. I am desired to enclose the Parwana which these people brought with them and to suggest that if the document be genuine, enquiry be made into the circumstances of such an order being granted. This administration has been directed to prevent all communication between Ram Singh and persons from the Punjab but this will be rendered difficult if those who apply for permission to see him are referred to Rangoon.

4. The present individuals brought a pair of shoes, some twisted rosaries and other small matters with Rs. 300 in cash which they wished to deliver to Ram Singh. This was not permitted and they complain of the heavy expense they have fruitlessly incurred in undertaking this long journey.

I have the honor to be

Sir,  
 Your most obedient Servant,  
 Sd./-  
 Lieut. Colonel



## (DOCUMENT 55 A)

D.O.

*Rangoon, 24 April 1875.*

I. of Police Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

By the steamer which arrived here last week two persons from the Punjab named Hurnam Singh and Chando, husband and wife came to Rangoon to see Ram Singh, Kooka State prisoner. They produced in Ordoo order bearing the signature also in Persian characters, and stamp of an Extra Assistant Commissioner, this they professed to have received as their authority from the Punjab Government. This paper and one other has been forwarded to the Government of India as they appear very suspicious and if not forged may have been obtained under false pretences. The couple profess to be from Furreedpore or Furreedkote near Ferozepore, their purpose merely to see their Guroo and present him with a pair of shoes, rosary and some clothes, they admit to having Rs. 200 and to having spent a great deal (for them) en route in road expenses.

Harnam Singh, about 5' 9" aged 42 had a short beard presents the appearance of a simpleman, can speak Hindustanee though affects not to be well up in it, and break it off in Punjabee. Has a small dark mark an inch and a half below right eye not very distinct. His wife, an evil looking creature, hooked nose, thin spare woman with large mark on back of right hand.

It was determined to send the couple back to Calcutta but they have saved us the trouble as today when called to my office, the man produced a passage order saying he was returning to India and asked for an order to save his being stopped en—route. I have told him I will send a constable, Mahomed Saib, along with him and that he *must* go to your office for further orders. This is done as I would ask you to take steps to keep the pair under surveillance so that they may not be

lost sight of pending orders from the Government of India which I have no doubt will be communicated to you direct.

Yours truly,  
Sd./- I.C. Hamilton, Lt. Col.  
Offg. I.G. Police, B.B.

The orders of the Government of India are clear and distinct against unauthorized persons communicating with the State prisoner.

Sd./- I.C.H.

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**(DOCUMENT 55 B)**

Copy of Telegram addressed to Foreign Secy., Simla.

*Dated 30th April 1875.*

Hurnam Singh Punjabi and wife Chando went to Rangcon for interview with Ram Singh, Kooka State Prisoner, produced Persian order bearing stamp of Punjab Government. Burmah Police considers order forged, have sent Punjabi and wife here for detention pending orders. Papers sent you direct by Burmah—Instructions solicited.

True copies,  
Sd./-  
1/5/75.

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**(DOCUMENT 55 C)**

*Police Office, 1 May, 1875.*

Statement of Harnam Singh.

Six months ago I sent a request by a registered letter to the Lieutenant Governor asking for permission to go to Rangoon

to see my Gooroo. I received an answer by post. It was stamped with the Government seal—the meaning was that I might go to Rangoon and get permission from the Sahib there to see the Gooro. I left my home about a month ago. I came to Calcutta by rail and from there to Rangoon by steamer. When I landed in Rangoon I showed my petition to a number of European gentlemen. I met there—one of them told me to take it to the Jail Sahib. This Sahib sent it to the Collector Sahib and he ordered me to be sent back.

*Calcutta 1.5.75*

Sd./-

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**(DOCUMENT 55 D)**

No. 1997

*From*

J. H. Thornton, Esq.,  
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

*To*

The Secy. to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated Murree, 15th May 1875.*

Sir,

I am desired to return the original papers forwarded with your endorsement dated 5 instant, No. 631 (Judicial), concerning two persons who proceeded to Rangoon for the purpose of seeing the Kuka detainee Ram Singh, and in reply to explain that the parwana or order therein referred to was written, by direction of the Lieutenant Governor before the occurrence of the events which led His Honor, in my letter No. 378, dated 26 January last to recommend that Ram Singh should not be allowed to see any persons from the Punjab.

2. Under present circumstances the authorities of British Burmah have acted quite rightly in refusing to accede to the request for an interview.

3. I am to add that the order under consideration merely intimated that the petitioners should apply to the authorities of Rangoon, and did not direct them to proceed there.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd/-

for Secretary to Government Punjab.

(*Note.* The wife of Kuka State prisoner Man Singh, Jeewani by name reached Chunar to have an interview with her husband. She was not permitted to meet her husband. The letter which she wrote to her husband was not also delivered. On account of limited means only the most important documents are printed. Nahar Singh, Compiler.)

### (DOCUMENT 56)

*From*

T.N. Thoronton, Esq., D.C.L.  
Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

*To*

A.P. Howell, Esq.,  
Secy. to Govt. of India,  
Home Departmet.

*Dated Lahore, 2nd July 1875.*

No. 2526

HOME

Sir,

I am desired to return the original accompaniment of

your letters marginally noted, and to state that in the opinion  
of the Hon'able the Lieutenant Governor,  
No.483 dated 7th June 1875. nor, it is not desirable that Mussa-  
No. 900 dated 17th Idem. mat Jiwani should be allowed to  
have an interview with her husband Man Singh, except in the  
presence of some reliable person acquainted with the dialect in  
which she speaks.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd./-.....(?)

for Secretary to Govt. Punjab.

---

**(DOCUMENT 56 A)**

No. 1090

HOME DEPARTMENT

(JUDICIAL)

*To*

The Offg. Commandant at Chunar.

*Simla, 19th July 1875.*

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letters noted on the  
margin and in reply to say that Musammatt Jiwani should not  
be allowed to have an  
State prisoners. No. 20. dated 18th May 75 interview with her hus-  
to foreign Department. No. 22 dated 7th band Man Singh, a Kooka  
June 75 to Home Deptt. prisoner at Chunar, except  
in the presence of some trust-worthy person acquainted with  
the dialect in which the husband and the wife may converse.

2. It is impossible to accept your proposal that unaccredited persons should be prevented from coming to Chunar, but you should on no account allow any stranger to hold any intercourse with the kooka prisoners except with the previous sanction of the Government.

I have &c.

Sd/-... ..(?)

13/7

A.H. 13/7

No. 1091.

Copy forwarded to the Government of the Punjab with reference to their letter No. 2526 dated the 2nd inst.

---

**(DOCUMENT 56 B)**

No. 640 S

*From*

Lepel Griffin, Esquire,  
Offg. Secretary to Government  
Punjab.

*To*

A.P. Howell, Esq.,  
Offg. Secretary to the  
Government of India

**HOME DEPARTMENT**

*Dated Simla, 9th October, 1877.*

Sir,

I am desired to submit the translation of a letter addressed to Man Singh, a Kooka prisoner at Chunar, received with your communication No. 1460 of the 26th ultimo, and to state that

although the letter from Mussamat Jeoni does not appear to contain any objectionable matter, the Lieutenant Governor thinks that as a general rule no Kuka prisoner should be permitted to receive vernacular letters, whether in Urdu or Gurmukhi, and to this rule he would make no exception. He does not think that there is any objection to their receiving letters in English.

I have the Honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
Sd./-  
C.L. Griffin  
for Offg. Secretary to  
Government Punjab.

---

**(DOCUMENT 56 C)**

**HOME DEPARTMENT**

(Judicial)

*Simla 23rd October 1877.*

*To*

The Secy. to the Government of Bengal  
The Secy. to the Government of Oudh  
The Chief Commissioner of the Calcutta Province  
The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

Sir,

In continuation of H.O., order No..... ..dated 26th June last, on the subject of the correspondence of Kuka prisoners with any of their people, I am directed to forward the enclosed letter from the Government of the Punjab and today that vernacular letters addressed to such prisoners

should not be delivered to them. Even English letters should not be delivered to them until approved by proper consulation.

2. A copy of this circular has been sent to the Commandant Chunar Garrison.

Signed.....(?)

Copy forwarded to the Govt. Punjab with reference to the letter No. 64(S dated 9th instant.

---

**(DOCUMENT 57)**

**SEAL**

Confidential—1091

**HOME DEPTT., INDIA.**

---

List of Kuka prisoners confined under Regulation III of 1818.

---

- |                                |                         |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Ram Singh, the Kuka leader. | 2. Sahib Singh          |
| 3. Rur Singh                   | 4. Lukkh Singh          |
| 5. Kahn Singh                  | 6. Brahma Singh         |
| 7. Jowahir Singh               | 8. Maluk Singh          |
| 9. Man Singh                   | 10. Hukma Singh         |
| 11. Pahara Singh               | 11. Sardar Mungul Singh |

On the recommendation of the Lieut. Governor of the Punjab the above men immediately on arrest forwarded to Allahabad for confinement.

In March 1872 the leader Ram Singh was sent to British Burma as it was considered that he could not be kept in full safety and be prevented from communicating with his adherents whilst on the continent of India.



In August 1872 the Punjab Government was asked for an opinion as to whether the prisoners or any of them should not be brought to trial for specific offences rather than being kept in confinement as political prisoners. The Lieut. Govr. was opposed to their being put on trial and preferred their confinement as Political prisoners but added as follows :—

As a matter of equity these men deserve not sympathy and the evidence, whatever the opinion, of the courts of law, is overwhelmingly against them for years they have preached sedition and intrigue against the Government. Yet no vindictive measures are desired, and when all danger from the Kooka sect has passed away, and when the Govt. with due consideration for the public safety, can decide that the leaders should be released, His Honor the Lieut. Govr. would be quite prepared to submit a recommendation to such effect to His Excellency the Governor General in Council."

The Government of India acceded to the Lieutenant Governor's wishes, and as the Allahabad Fort was not considered a suitable place for their confinement they were sent to different places as follows :

Prisoners 2 and 5 to Aden transferred to Hazareebagh for detention under the order of the Government of India, 23rd April 1875.

Prisoners 3, 8 and 11 to Asseergurh.

Prisoners 4, 6 and 7 to Moulmein.

Prisoners 9, 10 to Chunar.

Prisoner 11 was released in March 1873 at the request of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

It will thus be seen that out of the 12 prisoners, 11 prisoners are still in confinement as political prisoners and no further orders have been issued regarding them, and the Punjab Government have not yet submitted any recommendation for their release.

There seems no reason to suppose that the Punjab Government would wish any of these men to be released now but it

only seems right for such cases to come up periodically for consideration and perhaps Punjab may be now consulted.

AH. 3/3/76

**(DOCUMENT 57 A)**

Confidential

No. 348 S

HOME DEPARTMENT

(Judicial)

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of the Punjab.

*Fort William, 8th March 1876.*

Sir,

With reference to para 6 of your letter No. 364 S, dated the 30th September 1872, I am directed to enquire whether in the opinion of H.H. the Lieutenant Governor any of the Kooka State prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818 should now be released.

I am to explain that this enquiry is made merely to view the fact that it is considered desirable for.....(?)

I have &c.

AH. 6/3

---

**(DOCUMENT 57 B)**

Confidential

No. 134C

*From*

Lepel H. Griffin Esq ,  
Officiating Secretary to the Government, Punjab.

*To*

T.H. Thornton, Esq., D.C.L.,  
Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,  
Foreign Department.

*Dated Simla, 27th June, 1876.*

Sir,

I am desired to reply to your letter No. 348 of the 8th March last "confidential on the subject of the Kooka State

Prisoners, now detained under Regulation III of 1818, enquiring whether, in the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor, any of these may now be released.

2. The delay which has occurred in replying to this letter, has been due to enquiries which has been instituted through the Commissioners and Deputy Commissioners of Districts and Divisions as to the propriety of allowing those of the State Prisoners who reside within their jurisdiction, to return to their homes, and owing to the absence of some of the officers who were in charge of Districts at the time when these prisoners were first arrested, some delay has been caused in obtaining the necessary information. All have however now replied.

3. The general opinion appears to be that it is inexpedient at present to allow the return of the prisoners. The Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore and the Commissioner of Lahore however consider that the return of Jowahir Singh, Maluk Singh Man Singh, will not be inconvenient or dangerous. But Sir Henry Davies, from a general consideration of the case as regards the Kookas, and from a certain activity which is now manifest among the sect, is of opinion that it is unadvisable at the present time to permit the return of any of the prisoners to the Punjab.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
Sd./- Lepel Griffin,

**(DOCUMENT 58)**

No. 1154  
Home Department  
(Judicial)

To

The Offg. Secy. to the Govt. Punjab.

*Simla, the 14th July 1876.*

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter to the Foreign Department dated 27th ultimo No. 134C and in reply to say

that the Governor General in Council accepts the opinion of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor that it would not be advisable at present to permit the return to the Punjab of any of the Kooka prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1818.

I have &c.  
A.H. 1217

No. 1860.

Copy to the Foreign Department for information.  
Kuka State Prisoner in Hazareebagh Jail. Sahib Singh and Kahan Singh.

*Note* : All documents in this regard cover about 50 typed pages.

For reasons of limited number of pages only the most important document are printed.

Nahar Singh

---

**(DOCUMENT 58 A)**

*Hazareebagh, 21st May 1875.*

To

The Superintendent of Jails,  
Hazaribagh.

Sir,

I have the honor to inform you that the Kooka prisoner Sahib Singh, who is now confined in the European Penitentiary, is suffering from diabetes,—a disease of a most serious nature though slow in its progress. I may add that diabetes though amenable to palliative treatment is very rarely cured.

I have &c.  
Sd./- .....E.A. Birch  
F.R.C.S.  
Civil Surgeon.

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**(DOCUMENT 58 B)**

*No. 416,  
From*

*22nd July 1875.*

The Superintendent,  
European Penitentiary,  
Hazareebagh

*To*

The Inspector General of Jails, L.P.,  
Alipore.

Subject : Dieting State prisoners.

Sir,

With reference to your No. 5060 of the 18th instant and the correspondence forwarded therewith (now returned as directed) I have the honor to state that in my opinion the two Kooka State prisoners confined in the Penitentiary should be allowed the same amount per month as they were allowed when at Aden viz. Rs. 65/- for the two men, one of these prisoners is in a very delicate state of health and is in receipt of medical comforts daily. The above amount would of course cover all expenses, diet, medical, clothing &c. and a less would not be sufficient if the prisoners are to receive the same food &c. as when at Aden.

I have

Sd./- E.G. Lillingston

Captain

Superintendent of Jails,  
Hazareebagh.

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**(DOCUMENT 58 C)**

*From*

The Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,  
Political Department,

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Department.

Political

*No. 3167, Dated Calcutta the 4th Dec. 1876.*

Sir.

With reference your letter No. 70 dated 19th January last, I am directed to submit herewith for the orders of the

Government of India, an application from the Officiating Inspector General of Jails, for the expenditure of a sum of Rs. 65/- for providing warm clothing for the season for the two Kooka prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh confined in the European penitentiary at Hazareebagh, and I am to solicit that the sanction of the Govt. of India may be accorded to the annual grant of the sum of Rs. 65/- from the Imperial Revenues for this purpose.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Yours most obedient servant.  
Signed  
Offg. Inspector General of J.

---

**(DOCUMENT 58 D)**

Judicial B, Progs. No. 78 No. 64 No. 3115.

*From*

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bengal,  
Judicial Political and appointment departments.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of India  
in the Home Department

*No. 3113*  
**POLITICAL**

*Dated Darjeeling the 5th May 1878.*

Sir,

With reference to the correspondence ending with your letter No. 1613, dated 23rd Oct. 1877 regarding the Kooka State Prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh, detained in

European Penitentiary at Hazareebagh, I am directed to submit for the consideration and orders of the Government of India, the

accompanying copy of the \*correspondence with Inspector General of Jails on the subject of treatment of these prisoners.

\*Letter No. 2429 of 22nd March from the Inspector General of Jails letter No. 1463 dated 4th April, To—Do—No 3277 dated 16th April From—Do—

2. Under the orders of the Government of India, conveyed in your letter in the Home Department, No. 475 dated 10th April 1875, these prisoners have been kept in close custody since their transfer from Aden to Hazareebagh.

3. The Inspector General of Jails in bringing to the notice of the Government that during his late inspection of the Hazareebagh Penitentiary these two prisoners applied to him to be transferred to British Burmah, has drawn attention to the fact that although they are simply detained in the Penitentiary under close custody and were not sentenced to any punishment they are yet undergoing more severe treatment than which the other Kooka prisoners confined at Rangoon and Moulmein, and the matter assumes that most serious aspect when it is considered that the imprisonment of these two men is to continue for an indefinite period.

4. Dr. Lethbridge says, that they be transferred to Sougheo in British Burmah where they will be allowed more personal liberty but will still be completely cut off from their friends in the Punjab and their fellow prisoners in Rangoon and Moulmein.

5. The Lieutenant Governor does not however see that why the prisoners should be transferred to British Burmah which is a place entirely different in respect to climate and mode of life to the places in which they have always lived, and I am to ask the order of His Excellency the Governor General whether any relaxation of the order of close confinement may be granted in the case of these ten prisoners. It is, Mr. Eden thinks, very possible that they are men of no position, and might, if such is the case, be safely allowed under proper surveillance outside the prison walls at Hazareebagh.

I have the Honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Signed

Secretary to the Govt. Bengal.

**(DOCUMENT 58 E)***From*

J. G. Cordery, Esquire,  
Offg. Secy. to Govt,  
Punjab.

*To*

C. Bernard, Esquire,  
Offg. Secy. to Govt. of India,  
Home Department

*Dated Simla 25th July, 1878.*

Home

Sir,

I reply to your letter No. 730 of the 12th June enquiring whether there is any objection on the part of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor to a relaxation in the manner proposed by the Government of Bengal of the existing order for the close confinement of the Kuka prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh I am desired to state that Sahib Singh is second in importance to the Chief of the sect Ram Singh himself and Kahn Singh is one of the most bigoted and energetic of the Kooka leaders.

2. They are both, I am to observe, men of considerable importance in their own sect, and the Lieutenant Governor does not recommend that they should be allowed to reside outside the prison walls as this would enable them to find means of communication with the other members of the sect in the Punjab who are most persevering in their efforts to correspond with the Kookas in confinement.

I have the honor to be etc.

Sd./-

Offg. Secy., Govt. Punjab.



Remarks on the File in G.G's Office

From Bengal Government,

*No. 3113, dated 5th May 1878.*

The Government of Bengal submit with their recommendation in the matter copy of a correspondence with their Inspector General of Jails on the subject of the treatment of the two Kuka State Prisoners Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh detained in the European Penitentiary at Hazareebagh.

The following is a brief resume of the correspondence relating to the two prisoners under which they were arrested.

In January 1872, shortly after the attacks by large bodies of the Kookas on the city of Malodh and the town of Malerkotla, near Ludhiana, in the Punjab, the Local Government directed the arrest of the Kuka leader Ram Singh and of his principal and most influential subahs (Lieutenants) Sabib Singh, Jawahir Singh, Lukka Singh and Kahn Singh and others, as their antecedents were such that no reasonable doubt or shadow of doubt could exist that the attacks on Malodh and Malerkotla were the direct result of their orders and advice.

It was stated that the men when arrested will be at once forwarded to Allahabad, as his Honor does not consider it advisable to retain them in the Punjab. Regarding their future destination, the Lieutenant Governor will make further recommendations but he now requests the issue by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council of warrants under Regulation III of 1818 against all the men mentioned.

The action of the Lieutenant Governor was approved and warrants of custody under Regulation III of 1818 against Ram Singh and his subhas were forwarded direct to the Magistrate of Allahabad.

In a letter dated the 22nd February 1872, the Lieutenant Governor expressed himself strongly of opinion that Ram

Singh and all his followers at Allahabad should be removed from India to Rangoon, or to such other place out of British India which appeared appropriate. Allahabad itself being on the main line of communication was stated to be open to many objections.

On the 10th March 1872, the Punjab Government was informed that the Government of India considered that ample evidence existed to warrant the continued detention of Ram Singh and to show that his release would be dangerous to the peace and tranquillity of the country, and that as it appeared that he could not be kept in full safety and be prevented from communicating with his adherents, whilst on the continent of India, the Governor General in Council had ordered that his place of detention should be in British Burmah. As regards the other prisoners there the Punjab Government was informed that if these men were to be detained any longer, the Government should be in possession of full and sufficient evidence to support such a measure, and the Lieutenant Governor was requested, when submitting this report, to express his own opinion on every separate case so submitted, and to recommend with reference to the evidence and to the influence and position of the individuals concerned whether each man may be at once released or should be further detained, and in the latter case whether indefinitely or for what period."

On the 24th June 1872 the Punjab Government submitted a report by Mr. Macnabb, as asked for above and added that.

"In the conclusions of this report the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor generally agrees. It carefully discriminates the degree of danger to be apprehended from each of the Kuka subhas under detention, but His Honor does not see much advantage in fixing terms of imprisonment in proportion to those degrees."

The expediency of releasing these men will mainly depend on the state of feeling in the Province and the Lieutenant Governor thinks such a measure should at no time be adopted without the assent of the Local Government, subject to the condition that the cases are annually "revised and a report made to the Government of India."

Mr. Macnabb's opinion of Sahib Singh was that "he has preached sedition, encouraged the late outbreak, and has taken next to Ram Singh the leading part in propagating the spread of the Kooka sect, of which the avowed object and consummation is the restoration of the Sikh Raj and the expulsion of the British Government. He is intelligent, clever and determined. If allowed to return, Kukaism would at once revive and become troublesome. He should never be allowed to return to the Punjab, but be kept in banishment for the rest of his life."

And of Kahn Singh that he,

"is a man of much weight,—certainly putting in Mangal Singh aside, the third in importance among the subhas. I would keep him in banishment for the rest of his life."

After consideration of papers connected with Mr. Macnabb's enquiry into the cases of the Kooka Sirdars, the Government of India in a letter to the Punjab Government dated the 7th August 1872 asked to be favoured with the Lieutenant Governor's opinion as to whether the prisoners or any of them should not rather be brought to trial for specific offences than kept in confinement as political prisoners.

But the Punjab Government in reply objected to the step, and strongly recommends that the case heretofore followed of detaining these men in confinement as political prisoners should be continued. It was however intimated that

"When all danger from the Kooka sect has passed away, and when the Government, with due consideration for the public safety, can decide that the leaders should be released, His Honor the Lieutenant Governor will be quite prepared to submit a recommendation to such effect to His Excellency the Governor General in Council. This procedure even in the interests of these misguided men is preferable to formal Trial in which conviction would probably involve transportation for life."

The Government of India thereupon resolved on the continued detention of the subhas as recommended by the

local Government, and orders were issued on 31st October 1872, for distribution of the men between Chunar, Asseergarh, Moulmein and Aden, instructions being at the same time sent to the local authorities concerned to keep them "in as close custody as is consistent with their health". The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah was moreover told that the prisoners need not necessarily be placed within the Jail. "As regards Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh who agreeably to the above orders, were sent to Aden in March 1873, it was subsequently decided that they should not be kept in Jail but under police surveillance. The climate of Aden, however, having disagreed with them, it was determined in communication with the Government of Bengal to transfer them to European Penitentiary at Hazareebagh. The prisoners arrived at Hazareebagh in May 1875, and the building in that penitentiary known as the "Milygrand" was set aside for their accommodation and exclusive use. This arrangement on being represented to the Government of India, was approved by them in a letter to the Government of Bengal dated 2nd June 1875. It is mentioned here that an extract from the orders of the 31st October 1872 relating to the manner in which the prisoners should be dealt with had been furnished to the Bengal Government in April 1875.

From the papers now submitted by the Government of Bengal, it appears that during a late visit of inspection of the Inspector General of Jails to the Hazareebagh Penitentiary, Sahib Singh and Kahn Singh applied to be transferred to British Burma. Dr. Lethbridge thereupon recommends "that they be transferred to Tongoo in British Burmah, where they will be allowed more personal liberty but will still be completely cut off from all communication with their friends in the Punjab and their fellow prisoners in Rangoon and Moulmien. The reasons which actuated Dr. Lethbridge in making this recommendation will be seen from the following extracts from the present letter of the Punjab Government, although they are simply detained in the Penitentiary under close custody and were not sentenced to any punishment, they are yet undergoing more severe treatment than that to which the other Kuka prisoners confined at Rangoon and Moulmein (are subjected) and that the matter assumes a more serious aspect when it is considered

that the imprisonment of these two men is to continue for an indefinite period."

Ram Singh, the Chief Kooka prisoner, is allowed to live in a Bungalow on the Public road near the main guard in Rangoon and is on the score of failing health, permitted the privilege of a short drive under an escort. The three other Kooka prisoners are accommodated in a separate Bungalow specially built for them in the garden and extramural jail of Kyonth to which is attached to Moulmein jail.

The Lieutenant Governor does not see why the prisoners should be transferred to British Burmah, a place entirely different in respect to climate and mode of life to the places where they have always lived and asks the orders of the Government of India whether any relaxation of the order of close confinement may be granted to these prisoners. "It is Mr. Eden thinks very possible that they are men of no position and might, if such is the case, be safely allowed to remain under proper surveillance outside the prison walls at Hazareebagh."

As shown above these two Kooka prisoners while at Aden were not kept in Jail but were under police surveillance. If the Bengal Government can arrange to keep these men under proper surveillance outside the jail at Hazareebagh there will probably be no objection to sanction the proposal.

Before however doing this the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab might be consulted. He is very anxious that these Kooka detenues should on no account be allowed to hold any communication with the persons in Punjab.

Signed

(illeg)

28/5/78

The antecedents of the prisoners are fully shown (in progs. 28/ of August 1872), as elicited by Mr. J.W. Macnabb's enquiry.

The great thing with these prisoners is to prevent their communication with one another and in the Punjab.

On this point main stress has been laid in the correspondence throughout. The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab might be consulted and suggested. (He may at the same time ask the C.I.D. Branch what final arrangements have been made about Ram Singh (see above my marginal note)

Sd/-

.....?

29/5/78

My dear Buckland

Mr. Egerton wishes me to say that he would like to have an official reference regarding these two men Kahn Singh and Sahib Singh, because it is important to place on record all steps taken regarding them and the reasons why they are taken next to Ram Singh, these two are the most dangerous of the Kookas and it is essential to prevent them corresponding with the Punjab.

Yours sincerely

Sd/-

.....?

Yes. First consult the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. This may be done d/o

(Sd).....?

31/5

Secy.

Must see Mr.....? d/o answer of today. We now make an official reference.

C.E.B.

7/6/78

Yes, to the Punjab.

C.R. 8/6/78

(DOCUMENT 59)

*From*

HORACE A. COCKERELL Esq.,  
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,  
Judicial, Political & Apptt. Dept.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home, Revenue and Agricultural Department,

*No. 160, Dated Calcutta, the 17th anuary 1880.*

Sir,

I am directed to submit for the orders of the Government		of India the accompany-
Letter from	Inspector General of Jail	ing copy of a correpon-
	No. 7612 dt. 20 Aug. '79.	dence as noted in the
ditto	2121R7 dt. 158cp „	margin, on the subject of
„	9806 dt. 26 Nov. „	the custody of the State
„	4121 dt. 10th Dec. „	Prisoner Kahn Singh at
„	10732 dt. 26th „ „	present detained in the

European Jail at Hazareebagh.

2. This prisoner and Sahib Singh, two of the leaders of the Kuka movement in the Punjab were under the orders of the Home Department No. 475, dated the 10th April 1875 removed from Aden to the Hazareebagh Penitentiary. As to the manner in which the men were to be dealt with the instructions of the Government of India were that they should be kept in as close custody as was consistent with their health, and in 1878, this Government having proposed that they might be allowed to remain under surveillance outside the prison walls, the Home Department in its letter No. 848, dated the 4th July stated that the order for their close confinement should in no way be relaxed.

3. Sahib Singh died on the 10th June 1879, as intimated to the Government of India in the communication from this office No. 2577 dated the 30th. Since then Kahan Singh has been without a companion, and has been reported by the Civil

Surgeon of Hazareebagh to be suffering in health from effects of solitary confinement. The proposals made by the Inspector General of Jails that the prisoner be permitted to live in the Police lines under surveillance or that he be transferred to the civil enclosure of the General Jails at Hazareebagh did not commend themselves to the Lieutenant Governor as the adoption of either course would provide a direct and easy means of communicating with the outer world. To confine the man in the criminal ward of the Central Jail seems also to be open to objection as the release of any of the convicts would enable Kahn Singh to communicate with his friends in the Punjab. As there are no other political prisoners in Bengal fit to be associated with Kahn Singh, the case is submitted for orders. The Government of India may perhaps be able to place Kahn Singh along with some other political prisoner under detention for life.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./-

Secretary to the Government of  
Bengal.

---

**(DOCUMENT 6o)**

*From*

The Inspector General of Jails,  
Bengal.

*To*

The Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal,  
Judicial Department.

*No. 7612*

*Dated Alipur, the 20th August 1879.*

Sir,

With reference to my letter No. 2429, dated 22nd March 1878, regarding the Kuka Prisoners Khan Singh and Sahib



Singh, a copy of which is herewith enclosed for ready reference, I have the honor to report that the younger prisoner Sahib Singh died in the European Jail on the 10th June 1879. Khan Singh, the survivor, a weak and decrepit old man of over 70 years, still remained in the European Jail occupying a whole wing containing 16 cells. It is proposed to isolate this wing for the separate confinement of all new arrivals in the Jail. I therefore beg that the Government of India may be moved to allow Khan Singh to live in the Police lines under surveillance so that he should be transferred to the Civil Enclosure of the Central Jail. As matters stand at present a novice in the European Jail is a source of much inconvenience, and this aged prisoner is undergoing solitary confinement after many years of imprisonment in association.

I have your

Sd./-

For Inspector General of Jails,  
Bengal.

---

State Prisoner

Kahn Singh

*Private*

*Property*

(10) Ten Souvernes.

( 3) Three Gold Mohars

(Small 15/-)

( 2) Two Roman Coins.

(Silver)

(48) Forty eight Rupees.

I. ....; transferred from property book and the above handed over to escort.

(Sd).....

Offg. Superintendent

1st Sept. 1879.

Signed Kahn Singh in Punjabi.

---

**(DOCUMENT 61)***From*

The Inspector General of Jails,  
Bengal.

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Government of Bengal  
Judicial Department.

*No. 4354, Dated Calcutta, 25th May 1880.*

*Sir,*

With reference to your letter No. 983 dated the 20th ultimo, I have the honor to inform you that on the 10th instant, State prisoner Kahn Singh was despatched from the Hazareebagh European Jail under proper escort for the Chunar fort.

The original warrant received with your endorsement No. 1785 dated the 22nd May 1875, is herewith returned.

I have &c.

(Sd) R. Beadon, Lt. Col.

Deputy Inspector  
General of Jails, Bengal.

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**(DOCUMENT 61A)****Confidential***From*

L.H. Griffin, Esq.  
Offg. Secretary to the  
Government, Punjab.

*To*

Secretary to Government  
of India,  
Home Department.

*No. 428C. Dated 12 Nov. 1877 (Confidential)*

*Sir,*

With reference to correspondence which has passed between this Government and your office, on the subject of Guru

Ram Singh, the head of the Kooka sect, now a political prisoner at Rangoon, I am directed to draw the attention of the Government of India to the fact that it is notorious that in spite of all prohibition and the directions which have been issued by the Government of India on the subject, Ram Singh does frequently correspond with his followers in the Punjab. Several copies of such letters have been confidentially made over to this Government and the Lieutenant Governor has been able to trace their effect in the larger increase of petitions for the release of the Guru which have been lately presented by his followers in the Punjab. It is stated that the surveillance over Ram Singh is very imperfect, and that by means of a Biraghi Fakir, who resides, near his place of confinement, it is easy to throw letters attached to stones, clods of earth, over the walls, and receive in the same manner. Whether this particular procedure in the way of giving letters or receiving replies be correct or not, the Lieutenant Governor is unable to determine, but ; there is no doubt that means of communications are easily found, and the Kooka sect bearing, within the last few months, shown more than usual activity, the Lieutenant Governor desires to call the attention of the Government of India to the desirability of stricter orders being issued against communication with the prisoner. The Lieutenant Governor is further disposed to think that it might be better to remove Ram Singh from Rangoon to some place where he can be more efficiently watched, such as Aden, if the measures now recommended are more successful.

I have the Honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd./-

Offg. Secretary to Government  
Punjab.

Remarks on the above letter

*Fram*

Government Punjab,

*No. 428C Dated 12th Oct.*

Recommends that Ram Singh, Kuka, be kept under

strict surveillance, in order to prevent him communicating with his followers in the Punjab.

Sd./-

---

**(DOCUMENT 61 B)**

Home Department

(Judicial)

*Simla, 2 November 1877.*

*To*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

Sir,

Referring to the correspondence ending with my letter of the 23 ultimo No. 17/1616 I am directed to forward to you confidentially the accompanying letter from the Punjab Government of the 12 Idem No. 428C regarding the correspondence of Ram Singh the Kooka prisoner at Rangoon with his followers in the Punjab. The Governor General in Council concurs with His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in considering that the correspondence of Ram Singh should be effectually stopped, and I am to request that you will be good enough to issue orders as will ensure without any delay the strictest possible surveillance in future in this matter.

Copy to Punjab Government for  
information reference letter No.  
428C of 12th instant.

I have &c.

Signed..... ?

---

**(DOCUMENT 61 C)**

British Burma Political Department No. 3/5CP.  
(Confidential)

*From*

Major C.W. Street M.S.C.  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Calcutta.

*Dated Rangoon, 28th Dec. 1877.*

Sir,

In reply to your letter (confidential) No. 1649 dated 2nd November 1877, I am directed by the Chief Commissioner to say that he thinks there will be some difficulty in effectually stopping communication with Ram Singh as long as he remains in the building in which he is now confined. For although no one has yet been detected in conveying letters to or from Ram Singh it would be an easy matter, owing to the proximity of the house to the main road for a person to throw a letter into or out of the enclosure in which the house is situated.

2. A plan of the building is herewith forwarded from which it will be seen that it is surrounded by a palisade 8 ft. 6 inch high and by a small ditch, whilst two sentries are posted one on the first and other on the other side.

3. The floor of the house is well raised so that passers-by can see Ram Singh when sitting in his varandha. Communicating might be made more difficult by raising the palisade but the Chief Commissioner doubts whether this plan would have the desired effect and he would propose that Ram Singh either should be again confined inside the jail where he was located on his first arrival here or else that he should be removed to Tavoy or Mergui where it would be an easier matter to prevent his friends having any kind of communication with him.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

Sd/-

Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.

---

**(DOCUMENT 61 D)**

Judicial, B, January 28 No. 189 No. 69

*Fort William 16 January, 1878.*

Home Department  
(Judicial)

To

The Chief Commissioner of  
British Burmah.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter dated the 28th ultimo No 315 C.P. regarding Ram Singh the Kuka State prisoner.

2. In reply I am to say the Governor General in Council sanctions the removal of Ram Singh either to Tavoy or Margui, in which any of the two places most satisfactory arrangements can be made for his confinement. Every precaution should be taken to prevent the prisoner from correspondence with his followers in the Punjab or elsewhere.

3. I am to ask for a report of the final arrangements you may make further in giving effect to these orders.

*N.B.* Copy of the correspondence forwarded to the Government of the Punjab.....? dated the November last No. 1650.

If the removal to Tavoy or Mergui fails to effect the subject, the Governor General in Council will be prepared to consider whether Ram Singh should be again sent in Jail.

(Signed...)

---

**(DOCUMENT 61 E)**

**Confidential**

**British Burma  
Political Department No. 49/6P.**

*From*

**R. Hope Pilcher, Esquire, B.C.S.  
Officiating Junior  
Secretary to the Chief Commissioner.**

*To*

**The Commissioner of the Tenassenin Division,  
Maulmain.**

*Dated Rangoon 2nd March 1878.*

**Sir,**

With reference to the correspondence noted in the margin  
No. 1649, dated 2nd Nov. 1877 on the subject of the removal  
from Home Secretary of Ram Singh the Kooka  
No. 3/5CP dated 28th Nov. 1877 chief from Rangoon to either  
to Home Secretary Tavoy or Mergui, I am  
No. 49 dated 16th Jan. 1877 directed to say that under the  
from Home Secretary. last orders it has been decided

to transfer the state prisoner to Tavoy or Mergui. It is not  
intended however that he should be confined in the District  
Jail but in a separate building, which should be palisaded and  
guarded, so as to prevent egress, except on such occasions as  
the prisoner is allowed to go out with the permission of the  
Deputy Commissioner.

2. I am to request that you will report at which station  
the arrangements can be best carried out and the cost that will  
be incurred in giving effect to the arrangements.

I have &c.

Sd. R. Hope Pilcher  
Off. Junior Secretary,  
(True Copies)

Sd/... ?

B.B. Secretariat.

**(DOCUMENT 61F)**

British Burmah  
Tenassenin Division  
Political Department

No. 591/264

*From*

Col. R.D. Adrash  
Commissioner  
Tenassenin Division

*To*

The Secretary to the  
Chief Commissioner British  
Burmah.

*Dated Mergui. the 27th March 1878.*

Sir,

In anticipation of a more regular report on the receipt of replies from the Deputy Commissioners of Tavoy and Mergui on the subject of the future habitat of Ram Singh the Kooka State Prisoner.

I have the honor to state that after having conferred with Colonel Spilsbury, Deputy Commissioner of Tavoy and Colonel Munro, Deputy Commissioner of Merugi about him, Mergui has been fixed on as the better station of the two for his reception. He cannot be accommodated until a proper house with palisading and so forth is erected for him regarding which I will address again.

I have &amp; C.

Signed

R.D. Adrash

Colonel

Commissioner of Tanas Division.



**(DOCUMENT 61 G)**

No. 56/2

General Department

*To*

The Commissioner,  
Tenas Division,  
Maulmain.

*Dated Mergui, 11th April 1878.*

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Political (confidential) No. 425/264 of 12th March and Political Number 1 of 27th March.

2. With regard to the latter letter I have the honor to inform you that Mr. Hallet the executive engineer of Maulmain having visited this station I have requested him to draw out a plan and estimate of a suitable house for the confinement of Ram Singh. The building proposed is 30 feet in length by 15 broad including a verandah the building surrounded by a palisade 9 feet in height and 15 feet from the building, with a small Cook House and latrine inside the palisade. Mr. Hallat states this will cost about rupees 2250 to erect, and that he will submit the plan and estimate to you direct immediately on his return to Maulmain. The position of the building will be inside of the walls of the present jail, but at some distance from and entirely detached from the jail now being erected. It will thus be within the limits of the old jail enclosure portion of which is to be used as jail's garden, but as the enclosure is larger than the portion required for, garden will, not interfere with our building. The position will be very secure and leave little chance of our prisoner communicating with any one.

3. I observe from the correspondence that the sentries are at present placed over the prisoner, this would I think be necessary here, and for two senteries a guard of seven men be requisite that 6 men and one incharge of the guard. That one addition of 7 men should be made to the regular police here, Government paying monthly for them, but the Superintendent

supplying the guard in the same way as other guards, this would do away with any chance of corrupting the guard, which might perhaps occur, if the guard were a permanent one.

4. I have not been informed whether any servant is allowed to the prisoner. If he is entirely alone, the size of the building proposed for him might be slightly reduced, which would give a reduction in the cost but Mr. Hellat will be able to give you all information on this. If, I beg to propose that as the executive engineer is now erecting the new jail, that he should at the same time be required to erect the building for the prisoner Ram Singh.

I beg to say the prisoner should not be sent here until the new jail here is complete and the separated buildings for confinement finished.

I have & c.

Sd./-

W. Manro

Deputy Commissioner.

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**(DOCUMENT 6r H)**

British Burma

Political Department No. 163/6P

(                      )

*From*

R. Hope Pilcher, Esquire, B.C.S.  
Officiating Junior Secretary to the  
Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Commissioner of the Tinasseni Division,  
Maulmein.

*Dated Rangoon, 29th May 1878.*

Sir,

With reference to your endorsement No. 739/264 dated the 23rd ultimo forwarding a letter from the Deputy Commis-

sioner of Mergui relative to the proposed new arrangements for the confinement of Ram Singh the Kooka State Prisoner I am directed to say that it is not intended that the building should be inside the jail enclosure. It should be quite separate from the Jail. The Chief Commissioner approves generally of the size of the house proposed and desires that the plan and estimate for its construction may be sent up for sanction.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant

R. Home Pilcher

Offg. Junior Secretary.

---

**(DOCUMENT 61 I)**

No. 250H

SEAL

Home Department  
India

*From*

Chief Commissioner  
British Burmah.

No. 164/6P

*Dated 29th May, 1878*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah requests permission to entertain a guard of seven men which he says will be required for the Kooka State Prisoner Ram Singh on his

Entertainment of a guard for  
Ram Singh on his transfer to  
Mergui.

transfer from Rangoon to Mergui. The circumstances under which the Government of India have found it necessary to order Ram Singh's removal from Rangoon are briefly these :

In a letter dated the 12th October last the Punjab Government drew attention to the fact "that in spite of all prohibition and the directions which have been issued by the Government of India on the subject, Ram Singh does frequently correspondence with his followers in the Punjab. Several copies of such letters have been confidentially made over to this Government and the Lieutenant Governor has been able to trace their effect in the large increase of petitions for the release of the Guru, which have been lately presented by his followers in the Punjab. It is stated that the surveillance over Ram Singh is very imperfect," and requested that issue of stricter orders to prevent any communication to or from the prisoner. His Honor was further of opinion that Ram Singh should be removed from Rangoon to a place where he could be more efficiently watched, or sent to Eden.

The Chief Commissioner of British Burmah was there-upon informed that the Governor General in Council concurred with the Lieutenant Governor in considering that the correspondence of Ram Singh should be effectually stopped and was requested to issue such orders "as will ensure without any hardship or severity the strictest possible surveillance in future in the matter."

The Chief Commissioner in reply stated that there would be more difficulty in effectually stopping all communication with Ram Singh as long as he remained at Rangoon, and proposed that the prisoner should either again be confined inside the Jail where he was located on his first arrival in the Province or else that he should be removed to Tavoy or Mergui where it would be an easier matter to prevent his friends having any kind of communication with him.

In a note written on the Chief Commissioner's letter Sir Edward Bayley recorded the following opinion—.

"I should prefer sending Ram Singh to Mergui or Tavoy but the correspondence will be kept up any where, if he is not very closely looked after for for man is a fanatic and so are his followers."

"He is a very dangerous man the most dangerous man perhaps now in India and correspondence with him must be stopped by whatever means. If removal to Tavoy is not enough it will be quite justifiable to remand him to gaol....."

The Government of India sanctioned the removal of Ram Singh to either Tavoy or Mergui in whichever of these two places the most satisfactory arrangements could be made for his confinement. The Chief Commissioner was also told that every precaution should be taken to prevent the prisoner from corresponding with his followers in the Punjab or elsewhere and that if removal to Tavoy or Mergui failed to effect this object the Government of India would be prepared to consider whether Ram Singh should not again be placed in Jail....."

From the papers now submitted by the Chief Commissioner it will be seen that Mergui has been fixed on, as the place of Ram Singh's future residence in British Burmah and that Mr. Aitchison has called for the plan and estimate for a house which is to be built for the prisoner there. The Deputy Commissioner of Mergui considers that the prisoner should be guarded as at present and should be adjusted as a political charge of British Burmah.

In accordance with these decisions the cost of police guard for the Kooka prisoner Ram Singh should be an Imperial (Political) charge.

Sd/..... (?)

13/7

As a matter of account the Police certainly must pay for their own men. They do not even set apart certain men for the special work. The only question is whether they can recover the cost. They do in cash from P.W.... ? and Forest Department.

The Controller Generalis  
requested to advise on  
the case.

W.M.

19/7/78.

Perhaps this may be charged under police and the assessment for British Burmah be increased as a special case.

Signed

..... (?)

31/7/-

Clearly the charge is a police charge and as such under rule XI establishment and provincial fund.

Shall we at the same time add the provincial allotment ?

I think not. Burma may have some day political prisoners elsewhere. We discharge these petty claims and the rules are against the claims.

Signed ?

18th August

I agree with the Secretary Burma should find the police guard and pay for it. Every Government is liable to such contingencies.

H.E. The G.G.

August 2.

Issue orders

---

No. 409

HOME DEPARTMENT FOR APPROVAL

14/8

This order has been approved by His Excellency. He may agree but the Chief Commissioner will I fear remonstrate.

(Sd)

H.J.S

16/8

I doubt his re-opening the question.

(Sd.)

C.E.B.  
17/8

Secy.  
H.M.

This has come for approval need not object.

(Sd)

C.B. 1918.

(Sd)

A.J.A.  
22.8

*To*

FNL Department  
A.S.

Submitted

(Sd)

V.C.C.  
24/8/78  
Issue.  
24/8

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**(DOCUMENT 6: J)**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 669C

*From*

Lepal Griffin, Esq.  
Offg. Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

*To*

C. Bernard, Esq. C.S.I.,  
Secy. to the Govt. of India,  
Home Department.

*Dated Simla, 6th September 1878.*

Sir,

I am to refer you to the correspondence forwarded with your endorsement No. 70 of the 16th January last from and to

the Chief Commissioner of British Burma on the subject of the detention of Ram Singh the spiritual head of the Kooka sect in the Punjab. From various papers which have fallen into the hands of the police and from common report and other evidence, the Lieutenant Governor believes that communication with Ram Singh, on the part of his disciples in the Punjab is not un-frequent and from the description of the place and manner of his detention at Rangoon. It appears very difficult for the authorities there to altogether prevent such communications though His Honor has no doubt that every effort is made to do so. He accordingly thinks that the time has come when the suggestion of the Chief Commissioner of British Burma may be appropriately carried out and Ram Singh deported to either Tavoy or Mergui whichever place may appear to be most suitable to the Burma authorities in communication with your office.

I have the honor to be,  
Sir,  
Your most obedient servant  
Sd/-.....(?)  
for the Offg. Secretary to  
the Govt. Punjab.

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**(DOCUMENT 62)**

Judicial B.  
*Progs. Oct. 78.*  
No. 386

Telegram No. 1471  
**HOME DEPARTMENT**  
Judicial

*Simla, 29th Oct. 1878.*

*To*

The Chief Commissioner  
of British Burmah.

Your letter No. 311 of 11th October. It is very undesirable to postpone the removal of Ram Singh to Mergui and



Government of India requests that buildings may be got ready and the removal effected as soon as possible.

Signed  
C.E.B.

**(DOCUMENT 62A)**

Judicial B

*Progs. Oct. 78 No. 318*

**Traffic Code Form C.I.**

	Indian Telegraph	Local No.
To (Station) Simla	From (Station) Rangoon	
Words 18/4	Time tendered for transmission  (Madras time) Day H.M.	Official Instructions
	31 10	
To (Person) Home	From (Person) B.B.	

1 Year	2 Telegram	3 29th
4 House	5 for	6 Ram
7 Singh	8 will	9 be
10 put	11 in	12 hand
13 at	14 once	

Simla—31=10=78

**(DOCUMENT 62B)**

*From*

G.D. Hurgess, Esquire, C.S.,  
Officiating Secretary  
to the Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home, Revenue, and Agricultural Department.

*Dated Rangoon, 16th January 1880.*

Sir,

With reference previous correspondence ending with your

letter No. 1304 dated the 11th November 1879, on the subject of the deportation to Mergui of Kooka State prisoner Ram Singh, I am directed to say that the Chief Commissioner having inspected the building at Mergui in which it was proposed to confine him finds that it is quite unsuitable and that it would be impossible were he confined there with any precautions and even with a large guard to prevent his communicating with his friends and the outside world.

2. The only site at all suitable in Margui is within the wall of the old jail. The area of the jail compound has been considerably reduced and thus between the old wall and the jail as it at present stands there, is a space in which a house for the prisoner might be erected and where he would be constantly under the eye of the jail guard.

3. But it is possible the Chief Commissiner thinks that the Government of India may object to the selection of such a site as having the appearance of treating Ram Singh as a criminal and not as a political detenus. He can be more securely kept and looked after at Rangoon then under any arrangements that can be made at Margui, and the Chief Commissioner would recommend, after full consideration, either that Ram Singh be kept where he is and present arrangements continue or that the Government of India remove him to the settlement of Carmorta in the Nicobars as suggested in your letter No. 945 dated the 25th August 1879.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Sd./G.D. Burgess.

Officiating Secretary.

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**(DOCUMENT 62C)**

Remarks on the file in G.G. office

**Subject**

Case of Ram Singh a Kuka State Prisoner in Rangoon.

The circumstances under which it was considered necessary to remove Ram Singh from Rangoon to Mergui may be noted as follows.

The Government of the Punjab reported that Ram Singh was found to correspond with his followers in the Punjab and that several copies of such letters, were made over to that Government.

The Lieutenant Governor was able to trace their effect in the large increase of petitions for the release of Ram Singh presented by his followers : in the Punjab. H. H. considered that as surveillance over Ram Singh was imperfect strict measures should be taken in order to prevent any communication being made to and from Ram Singh and suggested that he should be removed from Rangoon to a place where he could be more efficiently watched such as Aden. The Chief Commissioner having been consulted on the subject, proposed that the prisoner should either again be confined inside the Jail where he had been located on his first arrival in the province or be removed to Tavoy or Mergui where it would be an easier matter to prevent his friends having any line of communication with him. The Government of India sanctioned Ram Singh's transfer to Tavoy or Mergni in whichever of the two places the most satisfactory arrangements could be made for his confinement and observed that, if removal to anyone of these places failed to fulfil the object in view, they would be prepared to consider whether he should not again be placed in jail. It was finally decided (Chief Commissioner's letter No .164/6P dated 29th March 1878) that Mergui should be fixed as the place of Ram Singh's future residence in British Burmah.

The Chief Commissioner having then applied for sanction (1) to the entertainment at a cost of Rs. 1052 a year of guard of 7 men for Ram Singh in his transfer to Mergui and (2) to the expenditure of Rs. 3783 for constructing the future resi-

dence of Ram Singh at Mergui, replies were returned to him that, as these costs would form charges upon the Provincial assignment sanction of the Government of India was unnecessary.

Subsequently the Punjab Government so much pressed upon the Government of India the urgency of transferring Ram Singh to Tavoy or Mergui, that Chief Commissioner told that the building for Ram Singh's detention at Mergui should be erected at once and that any application for an advance, if necessary, for the requisite funds for the purpose from the Imperial Funds would be considered.

In August last some further papers were sent by the Punjab Government showing that Ram Singh was able to obtain writing materials and to send letters to his friends and adherents in the Punjab and that he had seen and communicated with a visitor from the Punjab. In forwarding these papers to the Chief Commissioner B. B. (H. letter No. 945, dated 25th August 1879) we said that if the strict seclusion of Ram Singh was not possible, the Government of India would be prepared to consider whether he should not be transferred to the settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars. The Chief Commissioner replied that stringent orders were since issued to prevent any recurrence of the mismanagement brought to notice by the Punjab Government, and that, owing to the difficulty of communication with Mergui, the arrangements necessary for Ram Singh's reception these were not speedily completed. It was remarked that the building in which Ram Singh was to be confined at Mergui was finished but that the site chosen by the local officers, not being a police station, was considered unsafe for his reception there until new quarters could be built for the guard. The Chief Commissioner added that the guard house would be rapidly finished as soon as the rains were over and that the prisoner would then be transferred by the earliest possible opportunity.

The Chief Commissioner now reports that he inspected the building at Mergui in which it was proposed to confine Ram Singh but has found it quite unsuitable for the purpose, and that it would be impossible, were he confined there with

any precautions and even with a large guard, to prevent his communicating with his friends and the outside world and that the only site at all suitable for his detention in Mergui is within the walls of the old Jail.

But considering that it may be objectionable to select a site in the Jail for a political detainee the Chief Commissioner says that Ram Singh can be more securely kept and better looked after at Rangoon than under any arrangements that can be made at Mergui and recommends, after full consideration, either that Ram Singh be kept where he is and the present arrangements continue, or be removed to the settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars.

The Chief Commissioner has not explained how Ram Singh "can be more securely kept and better looked after at Rangoon" (1) All papers have been sent showing the special arrangements made for preventing any communication to and from the prisoner during his residence in Rangoon. The paper received from the Punjab Government in August last proved the insufficiency of the arrangements then existed.

Perhaps the position now for consideration is whether Ram Singh should be placed in Jail, as it was in the contemplation of the Government of India some time ago, (Vide H.D. letter No. 69, dated 16th January 1878) or whether he should be transferred to Camorta in the Nicobars.

(Sd).....(?)

26/1/80

It is scarcely satisfactory that the building at Mergui should at the last moment have been found so un-suitable. But it is clear that Ram Singh cannot be sent there and it seems very doubtful whether he should be retained at Rangoon in view of the difficulty which has been found in preventing him from holding communications thence with his followers in Upper India. We might perhaps send a copy of the present letter from the C.C. to the Punjab Govt. and as to for His Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor's opinion whether it would not be better to transfer Ram Singh to the settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars.

(Sd).....(?)

Mr. Aitchison explains that at Rangoon there is a military guard, the members of which are of course often changed, and are little open to corrupt influences, however there is constant supervision. At Mergni unless Ram Singh is inside the Jail there will be little supervision. People can go thither at pleasure fortnightly by steamer and absolute seclusion of Ram Singh would not be possible.

I think that to put the old man in Jail, or to transfer him to Camorta would in reality do more harm to his religious adherents, then occasional letters such as those we saw (see note of 12 8-79 describing their contents last August. But of course the Punjab Government must be the responsible Judge on a matter of this kind..... (?) Copy of the C.C.'s letter explaining as above, and asking whether in view of all considerations they (Punjab Government) desire to have Ram Singh kept inside a jail or deported to Camorta.

C.B.

29/1/80

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(DOCUMENT 62 D)

(S)

Judl. B, Feby, 80

No. 54

No. 140

Home, Rev. & Agri. Dept.  
(Judicial)*Fort William, 9th Feby. 1880*

To

The Secy. to the  
Government of the Punjab.

Sir,

In continuation of endorsement No. 946, dated the 25th August regarding the Kooka leader Ram Singh I am directed

to forward confidentially copy of a letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, No, 329 dated the 16th ultimo. reporting that the building at Mergui in which it was proposed to confine Ram Singh has been found unsuitable for the purpose and that the only site fit for his detention there is within the wall of the old Jail. Under these circumstances the Chief Commissioner recommends either that Ram Singh should be kept in Rangoon where he at present is or should be removed to the settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars.

2. I am to explain that at Rangoon there is a military guard, the members of which are often changed and are little open to corrupt influences and that there is constant supervision on the other hand at Mergui. Unless Ram Singh is kept inside the jail, there will be little supervision, people can go thither at pleasure by the fortnightly steamer and absolute seclusion of Ram Singh would not be possible. Further if Ram Singh is placed in jail or transported to Camorta, it may possibly happen that the effect produced thereby among his religious adherents would be worse than occasional letters such as those forwarded with the letter from the Punjab Govt. No. 654C dated 11th August last.

3. The matter, however, is one in regard to which the local Government must be in a better position to judge than the Govt. of India, I am accordingly to request that it may be reported whether in view of all considerations, H. H. the L. G. would desire to have Ram Singh either kept inside a jail or deported to Camorta.

I have &c.

Sd./-...

5/2.



**(DOCUMENT 62 E)**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

No. 742

*From*

W.M. Young, Esquire,  
Officiating Secretary to  
Government Punjab.

*To*

C. Bernard, Esquire, C.S.I.  
Secy. to Govt. of India,  
Home, Rev. & Agri. Dept.

*Dated Lahore, 20 Feb., 1880.*

Home.

Sir,

In reply to your confidential letter No. 140 dated 9th instant, in which you enquire what are the views of His Honor the Lieutenant Governor in regard to the disposal of Ram Singh the Kooka leader, under circumstances which have recently arisen, I am desired to state that His Honor does not anticipate any harmful result from his being placed in a Jail or transported to Camorta as far concerns any effect, which might thereby be produced upon his religious adherents in the Punjab. The only reason which the Lieutenant Governor can see for objecting to either of these proposals would be if Ram Singh were treated with great hardship than the circumstances demanded. If arrangements can be made for his being comfortably housed, and not unduly restrained in his movements, the fact of his being located within the precincts of a jail, or at Camorta is not open to objection on political grounds.

On the other hand Sir Robert Egerton considers it imperatively necessary that communications between him and his adherents should be stopped as completely as possible. Subject to these remarks His Honor has no desire to differ

in any way with the mode of disposal of Ram Singh which may best commend itself to the Burmah authorities.

I have the honor to be,  
 Sir,  
 Your most obedient servant  
 (Sd.) R.L. Davis  
 for Offg. Secretary to Govt.  
 Punjab.

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**(DOCUMENT 62 F)**

Remarks on the file in  
 G. G's Office.

*From*

Punjab :

*No. 742 dated 20th Feby.*

Disposal of Ram Singh the Kooka Prisoner.

See foregoing notes.

Three alternatives were suggested for the disposal of Ram Singh, *viz.*

1. A house to be erected for him within the walls of the Mergui Jail.
2. Removal to the settlement of Camorta in the Nicobars

OR

3. That he should remain where he is at Rangoon.

The Punjab Government do not anticipate any harmful effect from (1) or (2) so far as his religious adherents are concerned. But, they say, it is imperatively necessary that communications between him and his adherents should be stopped as completely as possible.

Under all the circumstances, the best course would seem to be to keep him at Rangoon where there is military guard and proper supervision. This might be sanctioned provided the C.C. is satisfied that the possibility of his communicating with his adherents in the Punjab can be prevented. The

attention of the C.C. might be especially invited to the stress which the Punjab lays upon this post.

Sd/-.....(?)

24/2

Ram Singh's present place of detention at Rangoon does not answer. We may sanction his transfer to Mergui into the house made for him. If thereafter he communicates with the Punjab or any undesirable may be.....(?) to be put into the Jail. We may write as above, and send C.C. a copy of the Punjab letter. We need not propose Camorta until the Mergui arrangement is exhausted.

(Sd).....C.B.

25/2

H.E.

D.R. 433

Seclusion of Ram Singh Kooka.

H.E. the Viceroy has referred the papers to the Foreign Department for remarks.

If it will be necessary for the purpose of completely secluding Ram Singh from correspondence with his disciples, to place him within the walls of the Jail, I do not think that any political consideration will stand in the way. On the other hand, it is.....(?) for various reasons, to treat and detain of his class into harshness, if this can be avoided.

The Chief Commissioner writes that "Ram Singh can be more securely kept and better looked after at Rangoon than under any arrangement that can be made at Mergui" I would accept this opinion, for the present, and would desire that, all possible precautions be.....(?) taken to cut off Ram Singh's correspondence. It seems clear that the communication.....(?) through the,.....(?)

Sd/-.....(?)

G.G.

## (DOCUMENT 62 G)

Confidential

No. 270

Home, Rev. & Agri. Dept.  
(Judicial)

*Fort William the 10th March 1880.*

To

The Chief Commissioner of  
British Burma.

Sir ,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 329 dated the 16th January last reporting that the building at Mergui in which it was proposed to confine the Kuka State prisoner Ram Singh is unsuitable for that purpose and that it would be impossible, were he confined there, to prevent his communicating with his friends and the outside world.

2. In reply I am to say that if it were necessary, for the purpose of completely secluding Ram Singh from correspondence with his adherents, to place him within the walls of a jail, the Governor General in Council does not consider that any political considerations need stand in the way. On the other hand it is undesirable, for various reasons, to treat a detenus of Ram Singh's class with harshness if this can be avoided. His Excellency in Council therefore accepts your opinion, for the present that Ram Singh should be kept at Rangoon, provided that all possible precautions, are taken to cut off his correspondence. Copy of a letter No. 742, dated 20th ultimo received from the Punjab Government and I can invite special attention and the remarks contained in the concluding paragraph as to the imperative necessity for stopping as completely as possible, all communications between Ram Singh and his adherents.

I have &amp;c.

Sd/.....(?)

6/3/

No. 271.

Copy forwarded to the Government of the Punjab with reference to letter No. 742 dated 20th ultimo.

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**(DOCUMENT 6a H)**

Judicial B. Progs. Oct. 80.

No. 155

British Burma.

Political Department—No. 7034½ R.S.

*From*

E.S. Symes, Esquire, C.S.,  
Officiating Junior Secretary  
to the Chief Commissioner.

*To*

The Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home, Revenue and Agricultural Department.

*Dated Rangoon, 8th Oct. 1880.*

Sir,

In continuation of this office letter No. 433 R.S. dated the 13th August and with reference to your letter No. 1065 dated the 23rd September, I am directed to report that State Prisoner Ram Singh with his follower was placed on board the "Ananda" for conveyance to Mergui on Saturday the 18th Ultimo, and arrived at Mergui on the 21st idem.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your Most obedient Servant

(Sd.).....E.S.S.

Offg. Junior Secy.

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**(DOCUMENT 62 I)**

Judicial B. Progs. Oct., 80.

No. 157

No. 1158.

Home, Rev. & Agri. Dept.  
(Judicial)*To*

The Chief Commissioner of British Burma.

*Dated Simla the 27th Oct. 1880.*

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 7034/14 R.S. dated the 8th instant and in reply, to say that the Governor General in Council sanctions the transfer of the Kuka State prisoner Ram Singh from Rangoon to Mergui.

2. A warrant addressed to the officer in charge of the Jail at Mergui in which Ram Singh is to be detained, directing him to receive the prisoner into his custody is herewith enclosed.

3. The warrant for Ram Singh's detention at Rangoon should be returned to this office.

I have &amp;c.

(Sd).....(?)

26/10

No. 1159

Copy of correspondence forwarded to the Punjab Government for information in continuation of letter No. 1064 dated the 27th ultimo.

Judicial B. Progs Oct. 80.

No. 156.

(SEAL)

No. 1157

*To*

The Officer Incharge of the  
Civil Jail  
Mergui.

Whereas the Governor General in Council for good and sufficient reasons, has been fit to determine that State prisoner Ram Singh shall be placed under personal restraint in the Mergui Civil Jail, you are hereby required, and commanded in pursuance of that determination, to receive the person above named into your custody and to deal with him in conformity to the orders of the Governor General in Council, and the provisions of the Regulation III of 1818.

By order of the Governor  
General in Council.

(Sd.) C. Grant.

Simla.

The 27th Oct. 1880

Secy. to the Government  
of India in the Home  
Department.

**(DOCUMENT 63)**

**Memo**

On the 17th instant Sukhu Lambardar of Bhaini informed me that about 150 strange Kukas were collected in a Dhak jungle near village Laton not far from Bhaini. This information later on was confirmed by secret agents who however were uncertain as to the actual number of persons collected. Having only recently been told by a Kuka whose veracity in this matter I have no reason to doubt, that Dan Singh, Gurdit Singh, Takkura Singh, Jaimal Singh and Durbara Singh of Bhaini; and Mangal Singh of village Rayan were

plotting mischief, I considered it necessary to ascertain the object, if true, of this secret and unusual gathering. With this object I deputed Deputy Inspector Serfaraz Khan early on the morning of 18th instant. That officers' report shows that he succeeded in securing 39 Kukas whose names and residence are given in the subjoined list. On seeing the Deputy Inspector approaching, the Kuka gathering at once dispersed and most of them absconded, but the precautionary measures to meet such a contingency, judiciously adopted by Deputy Inspector Serfaraz Khan with the co-operation of the Lambardars of certain neighbouring villages were so far successful that several Kukas were secured and only a few effected their escape. A rath or four-wheeled country cart and three bullocks owned by Gurdas Singh whose real name turned out to be Gurdit Singh, a stray camel subsequently claimed by Bishan Singh Kuka of village Kaleri, Station Budladah, District Karnal, and a pony supposed to belong to Musst. Atri but claimed by Rattan Singh carpenter of Nattiana, District Ferozepur, with a few sticks including two iron bound clubs and four hatchets were recovered by the Police. Gurdas Singh had a young female companion who he said was his sister. He denied being a Kuka or knowing anything about Bhaini or the Kuka Sect. He explained that he was a Jat Zemindar (land owner) of village Narangher, Thana Gobind Gher, Illaqua Patiala and was returning from Ludran where his sister Mehtab Kaur was married to a zemindar named Basant Singh. While the Deputy Inspector was writing down the names of the Kukas, Gurdas Singh very quietly made a sign and had the bullock cart containing his alleged sister Mehtab Kaur driven away. Shortly after the Police having missed the cart went in pursuit and brought it back. There was much anxiety evinced by the Kukas on account of Gurdas Singh and his sister and the common wish was that they should not be detained or produced before me. Bishen Singh of Kaleri the owner of the camel went so far as to offer the Deputy Inspector a bribe. Gurdas Singh would not allow any stranger to approach his sister or to converse with her and would not even permit her to be spoken by the Deputy Inspector on the ground that it was against the custom of his people on account of the very strict seclusion imposed on the female members of



the family. He however denied being a Kuka, a sect (he said) his sister had not even joined, and that he was in the habit of freely partaking of animal food and wine and drank out of a leathern bucket. The conflicting statements of Gurdas Singh coupled with his eagerness to get out of the hands of the Police raised grave suspicion against him. It was surmised that he might be a proclaimed offender or that he had abducted his female companion. To ascertain the antecedents of these Kukas, I sent for one of my secret agents who arrived late at night. On the following morning (19th March 1881) I was informed by him that Gurdas Singh is an influential Kuka Suba, his real name is Gurdit Singh, caste barber of Mauzah Naiwala, Thana Anohadgar in Patiala Territory, that his great friend or relative Rattan Singh Barbar of the same village was hanged with other Kukas for the butcher murders in which Gurdit Singh was supposed to have been implicated, but as nothing could be satisfactorily proved against him, the Patiala Authorities bound him down in the sum of Rs. 500/- to keep the peace and not to visit Bhaini or to move out of his village with the previous sanction of the authorities. That his female companion whom he calls his sister is actually Musst. Attri of Maiser Khana who claims to be Ram Singh Guru's wife ; that she has come here secretly unknown to the Patiala authorities who never allow her to leave her village or to visit Bhaini. After acquiring all this information I proceeded to have the statement of Gurdas Singh recorded in vernacular which by his own subsequent admission is acknowledged to be a tissue of falsehood. In like manner Attri distinguished herself by confirming her alleged brother Gurdas Singh's false statements. Having seen Attri some four or five years ago when she came to Bhaini secretly and Deputy Commissioner, Major Garden had her deported to her village, I recognised her face as soon as she uncovered it most reluctantly at my request. She then after some hesitation admitted her identity, Attri of village Khana and explained that her reason for this concealment was that she came without obtaining leave from the Patiala Authorities, but having lost her parents and being unable to put up with the persecution she was suffering in the Patiala State, she had come to the Ludhiana District with the intention of taking up her abode in Bhaini with Budh Singh.

As soon as Musst. Attri's identity was indisputably established Gurdit Singh also came forward and disclosed his real name, caste, and residence and admitted having been forced to give security in the sum of Rs. 500/—in the butcher murder cases. He moreover tendered an explanation that he was returning from Ludran after visiting his relatives, and happening to pass that way, just as the Police were arresting the Kukas, he was mistaken for one and detained, and that Musst. Attri unknown to him, got into his cart and drove away. This statement is probably false as it is contradicted by Attri, and the other Kukas, who accompanied her. In fact all their statements are at variance with each other on material points proving that they have all deposed falsely.

From Musst. Attri's Pothi, I recovered Guru Ram Singh's original letters which appear to have been brought sometime last year, by Bhagwan Singh and Sundar Singh Kukas. These letters, contain nothing important, though enquiries are made by him particularly with reference to the Afghan War, the Approach of the Russians, and their co-operation with the Afghan troops against the English, the success or defeat of the latter, and whether the Railways has been extended to Peshawar or not, and if water has been let into the Sirhind Canal or not. Further enquiries are made regarding Musst. Attri and other minor points concerning the possession of these letters, Musst. Attri is unable to give any satisfactory explanation. She says she knows nothing about them and conjectures that they must have been placed in her book by a man who visited her at Khana and who was subsequently recognised as a secret agent or informer. The explanation is absurd. Narain Singh of Roda from whom I recovered several letters in 1878 made similar frivolous excuses.

What the real object of this gathering was, I have been unable to ascertain. It was however an unusual secret gathering attended certainly by four known leading Kukas viz. Gurdit Singh of Naiwala, Kashell Singh No. 1 on the Sirsa list, Natha Singh No. 13 of Gadriwala and Kan Singh No. 16 of Baja on the Ferozepur list. Musst. Attri, who was also with these Kukas exercises unbounded influence over the sect.

Although Kahn Singh No. 16 on the Ferozepur list was not arrested with this party, there is no doubt he certainly belonged to it and managed to get into Bhaini shortly before the Deputy Inspector appeared on the scene. He has however been sent for trial on another charge for obstructing a Police Officer in the discharge of his duties. Among the known leading men, none bears a good character, they all seem to be of a quarrelsome disposition and given to intrigue.

So large a gathering of a sect who have already given evidence of their turbulent disposition, is I submit attends with danger and likely to lead to the commission of violent crime. The guard at Bhaini is numerically weak and the Police establishment at the Sabnewal Stations seven even miles off from Bhaini, is barely sufficient for the ordinary current duties, seldom more than four men are present at the Thana. Imbued with fanaticism in its worst form, and under the influence of Bhang when opposed however slightly, members of this sect have been known to resort to violence. The temptation to do so is perhaps much greater at Bhaini than elsewhere and therefore I would strongly recommend that such gathering should be discouraged by every legitimate means within our control. The secret meeting of this occasion was within a short distance of Bhaini and the assemblage of Kukas at Bhaini by a very recent order of Government is strictly prohibited. I have therefore considered it my duty in the interests of the Public to take action against these Kukas under Sec. 504, 505 C.P. Code. They have been released on bail for appearance before the Magistrate when required. Meanwhile I beg to submit this report with a list of the Kukas arrested near Bhaini for such orders as the Deputy Commissioner may think fit to pass in the case.

(Sd.) J.P. Warburton  
Dist. Supdt. of Police.

20th March 1881.

Saniwal,

The Gurmukhi letters recovered from Musst. Attri will be forwarded in original to the Inspector General of Police.

It escaped me to add that there is a report about that a Kuka messenger with a letter purporting to be from Ram Singh has been going about from village to village inviting the Kukas to go to Bhaini and telling them that it was Ram Singh's orders and that the time predicated by the Guru had arrived. On the 17th instant Budh Singh of Bhaini confirmed this report before me but said that the alleged messenger was an impostor who was endeavouring to swindle money from members of the Kuka sect.

(Sd.) J.P. Warburton.

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**(DOCUMENT 63 A)**

No. 1354.

*From*

W.M. Young, Esquire, Secy. to Govt. Punjab.

*To*

The Hon'ble C. Grant, C.S.,  
Secretary to the Government of India,  
Home Rev. and Agri Dept.

*Dated Lahore the 4th April 1881.*

Sir,

I am desired to submit for the information of the Government of India copy of a report received in the Police Department regarding a large gathering of Kukas near Bhaini, the village of Ram Singh, the late Kuka leader, and of Budh Singh Kuka, which was surprised by the Police; and also of English translation of letters from Ram Singh which were discovered with Mussmat Attari at this gathering.

2. The Hon'ble the Lieu. Governor would draw the attention of the Government of India to the character of these letters, and would observe that the guard kept over Ram Singh at Mergui is not sufficiently strict.

I have etc.,

(Sd) Illegible

For Secy to Government Punjab.

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**(DOCUMENT 63 B)**

List of Kukas arrested under Sec. 504, 505 C.P. Code Act X of 1872.

Name and Parentage	Residence				Remarks
	Caste	Village	Police Station	District	
1. Gurdit Singh alias Gurdas Singh S/o. Ram Singh	Barber	Naiwala	Anahadgarh	Patiala	
2. Mehtab Kour alias Attri daughter of Ram Singh alias Harnam Singh	Jat	Maiserkhana	Bhitanda	do	see Police abstract. para 23 page 37. Vol. III and previous reference.
3. Sunder Singh S/o. Bhup Singh	do	Jogah	Bhiki	do	
4. Narani Singh S/o. Khushal Singh	do	Phurwai	Hidiaya	do	
5. Mehtab Singh S/o. Khazan Singh	do	Hidiaya	do	do	
6. Jowala Singh S/o. Dessa Singh	Goldsmith	Katana	Doraha	do	Formerly resident of village Golwatti—P.S. Duska—Dist. Sialkot—an Ex police pensioned. Sergt.

	Goldsmith	Katana	Doraha	Patiala	
7. Mus. Bhagwan Wife of Jowala Singh					
8. Bhagwan Singh S/o. Ram Singh	Jat	Labara	—	Nabha	
9. Sunder Singh S/o. Maleek Singh	do	Moran	Dhunola	do	
10. Attar Singh S/o. Dula Singh	do	Pitho	Phul	do	
11. Must. Jai Kour wife of Harnam Singh	do	Bhaini Sahib	Sanewal	Ludhiana	
12. Hurnam Singh S/o. Rura	do	do	do	do	No. 21 Kuka list Ludhiana.
13. Mastan Singh S/o, Harnam Singh	do	do	do	do	No. 32 do—do
14. Must. Rupam wife of Gumana Singh	do	Saharan Majra	Dehlon	do	
15. Natha Singh S/o. Dall Singh	do	Gadriwala	Zira	Ferozepur	Subah No. 13 Ferozepur Dist.
16. Subel Singh S/o. Nowdha	Carpenter	Taktupura	Mogha	do	
17. Rattan Singh S/o. Kharak Singh	do	Nithana	Nithana	do	This is a noted Kuka but not entered in Ferozepur list.

18. Sapuran Singh S/o. Hari Singh	Rajput	Rupana	Muktessar	Ferozepur	See para 7 page 25 Vol. III Police abstract.
19. Gulab Singh S/o. Fateh Singh	Jat	Gurusar	Bhaikot	do	
20. Anup Singh S/o. Lakhan Singh	do	Phulewala	Muktessar	do	
21. Tara Singh S/o. Bahali	do	Fakharsar	Bhaikot	do	
22. Chattan Singh S/o. Gulab Singh	do	Tamkot	Muktessar	do	
23. Lal Singh S/o. Jawahar Singh	do	Hosnar	Bhaikot	do	
24. Wazir Singh S/o. Fateh Singh	do	Rupana	Muktessar	do	
25. Musst. Sada Kour Wife of Wazir.	do	do	do	do	
26. Musst. Dharmon W/o. Nup Singh	do	Phulewala	do	do	
27. Musst. Bholi W/o Lal Singh	Jat	Hosner	Bhaikot	do	Subah No. 1 Sirsa Dt.
28. Sajjain Singh S/o. Dyal Singh	Barbar	Matta	Kot Kapura	Faridkot	
29. Khushal Singh S/o. Karam Singh	Jat	Thirajh	Rori	Sirsa	

29A. Daya Singh S/o. Hakikat Singh	Jat	Malout	Malout	Sirsa
30. Shavi Singh S/o. Nenah Singh	do	do	do	do
31. Dhayan Singh S/o. Bhup Singh	do	Lakkewali	Bangla	do
32. Bhagwan Singh S/o. Bahal Singh	do	Jandwala	Malout	do
33. Jit Singh S/o. Bhagwan Singh	do	do	do	do
34. Must. Rutto wife of Bhagwan Singh	do	do	do	do
35. Must. Dassan wife of Bhola Singh	do	Abkhara	do	do
36. Bishan Singh S/o. Nand Singh	do	Kaleri	Baladah	Karnal
37. Sunder Singh S/o. Khark Singh	do	do	do	do
38. Sher Singh S/o. Jedh Singh	Carpenter	Amritsar	Rangariah	Amritsar

These are leading  
Kukas but not shown  
in revised list.

Sunder Singh is be-  
lieved to have visited  
Guru Ram Singh in  
'80—his name is men-  
tioned in Ram Singh's  
letter recovered from  
Must. Atari.

Ludhiana

20th March, 1881

Sd. J. Warburton

Distt. Supdt. of Police





